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# HISTORIC PULASKI

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BIRTHPLACE OF THE KU KLUX KLAN  
SCENE OF EXECUTION OF SAM DAVIS

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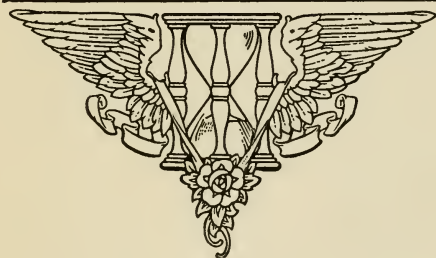


# HISTORIC PULASKI

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BIRTHPLACE OF THE KU KLUX KLAN  
SCENE OF EXECUTION OF SAM DAVIS

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By

Wm Thomas Richardson



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R. J. BRUNSON



27  
Pulaski: Rich in song and story.  
Pulaski: Hallowed on the page of glory.  
Pulaski: God's blessings rest on thee.  
Pulaski: The garden spot of Tennessee.

Pulaski: The gift of a princely hand.  
Pulaski: Who gave the flower of her land.  
Pulaski: Sent them forth man after man.  
Pulaski: Mother of the Ku Klux Klan.

*Elizabeth Wilkes Romine.*



## PREFATORY.

IN July, 1867, J. P. Abernathy approached me in Pulaski and asked me if I would not like to join the K. K. K. I told him that I would. He appointed a night for me and Carson P. Reed, Ruff Workman, and James Dickson to meet him at Sharon Church, where he would initiate us. We went down into the creek bottom below the church, and he organized Den No. 4. That was the fourth den of the original K. K. K. that was organized. J. Polk Abernathy was Grand Cyclops, and I (R. J. Brunson) was elected Secretary. We then selected the best men in our district who wished to join us, and they were initiated. J. Polk Abernathy served as Cyclops for twelve months, George Newbill for twelve months, and J. 'N. Brunson for twelve months.

In July, 1868, I was going on a visit to South Carolina, and Gen. George W. Gordon requested me to take some of our rituals and organize the K. K. K. in South Carolina, which I did. From the original head den here at Pulaski, I was the sole organizer or starter of the K. K. K. in South Carolina. I stayed in South Carolina about three months, and several dens were organized during

the three months that I was there ; then I returned home. On July 4 I was in the Pulaski parade mentioned in this book. We were law-abiding citizens, and were organized only for the protection of our women, children, and homes, and to enforce the law and insist on its enforcement.

After returning home I raided with Den No. 4 until the disbandment. After the disbandment I kept the alphabet, ritual, and regalia ; and in order to make this an interesting book and that the world may have the truth in regard to the organization of the K. K. K., I allow these to be printed.

R. J. BRUNSON.

April 21, 1913.

*Pulaski, Tenn*

# HISTORIC PULASKI.

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## THE KU KLUX KLAN: ORIGIN, GROWTH, AND DISBANDMENT.

### I.

#### ORIGIN.

THERE is no stronger chapter in American history than the one which bears for a title "Ku Klux Klan." The organization which bore this name went out of life as it came into it, shrouded in deepest mystery. Its members would not disclose its secrets; others could not. Even the investigation committee appointed by Congress was baffled. The voluminous reports containing the results of that committee's tedious and diligent inquiry do not tell when and where and how the Ku Klux Klan originated. The veil of secrecy still hangs over its grave. We propose to lift it.

The time has now arrived when the history of the origin, growth, and final decay of "The Invisible Empire" may be given to the public. Circumstances not necessary to detail have put it in the power of the writer to compile such a history.

For obvious reasons, the names of individuals are withheld. But the reader may feel assured that this narrative is drawn from sources which are accurate and authentic.

The writer does not profess to be able to disclose the secret signs, grips, and passwords of the order. These have never been disclosed and probably never will be. But we claim to narrate facts relating to the order which have a historic and philosophic value. It is due to the truth of history, to the student of human nature, to the statesmen, and to the men who were engaged in this movement that the facts connected with this remarkable episode in our nation's history be frankly and fairly told. A wave of excitement, spreading by contagion till the minds of a whole people are in a ferment, is an event of frequent occurrence. The Ku Klux movement was peculiar by reason of the causes which produced and fed the excitement. It illustrates the weird and irresistible power of the unknown and mysterious over the minds of men of all classes and conditions in life. And it illustrates how men by circumstances and conditions, in part of their own creation, may be carried away from their moorings and drift along in a course against which reason and judgment protest.

The popular idea supposes the Ku Klux move-



ment to have been conceived in malice, and nursed by prejudice and hate, for lawlessness, rapine, and murder. The circumstances which brought the Klan into notice and notoriety were of a character to favor such conclusions. No other seemed possible.

The report of the Congressional investigation committee confirmed it. Even if that report be true, like everything else which is known of the Ku Klux, it is fragmentary truth. The whole story has never been told. And the impression prevails that the Ku Klux Klan was conceived and carried out in pure and unmixed deviltry. The reader who follows this narrative to its end will decide, with the facts before him, whether this impression is just and true.

The Ku Klux Klan was the outgrowth of peculiar conditions, social, civil, and political, which prevailed in the South from 1865 to 1869. It was as much a product of those conditions as malaria is of a swamp and sun heat. Its birthplace was Pulaski, the capital of Giles County, one of the southern tier of counties in Middle Tennessee. Pulaski is a town of about three thousand inhabitants. Previous to the war its citizens possessed wealth and culture. They retain the second; the first was lost in the general wreck. The most intimate association with them fails to dis-

close a trace of the diabolism which, according to the popular idea, one would expect to find characterizing the people among whom the Ku Klux Klan originated. A male college and a female seminary are located at Pulaski and receive liberal patronage. It is a town of churches. There, in 1866, the name Ku Klux first fell from human lips. There began a movement which in a short time spread as far north as Virginia and as far south as Texas, and which for a period convulsed the country and attracted the attention of the civilized world. Proclamations were fulminated against the Klan by the President and by the Governors of States; and hostile statutes were enacted both by State legislatures and national Congress. It was finally quieted, but not until there had become associated with the name Ku Klux gross mistakes and lawless deeds of violence. To this day there are localities where the utterance of it awakens awe and fear.

During the entire period of the Klan's organized existence Pulaski continued to be its central seat of authority. Some of its highest officers resided there. This narrative, therefore, will relate principally to the growth of the Klan and the measures taken to suppress it in Tennessee. It is necessary to a clear understanding of the movement to observe that the history of the Klan is

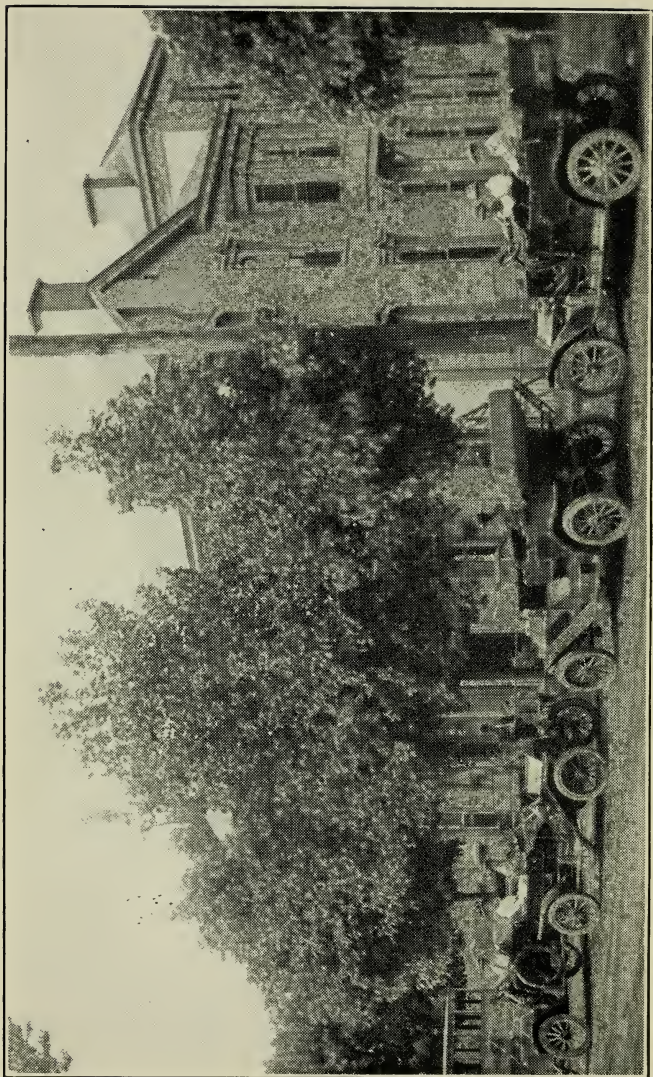
marked by two distinct and well-defined periods. The first period covers the time from its organization, in 1866, to the summer of 1867, the second from the summer of 1867 to the date of its disbandment in the early part of the year 1869.

The first period contains but little of general interest, but it is necessary to describe it somewhat minutely because of its bearing on subsequent events. When the war ended, the young men of Pulaski who had escaped death on the battle field returned home and passed through a period of enforced inactivity. In some respects it was more trying than the ordeal of war which lay behind them. The reaction which followed the excitement of army scenes and service was intense. There was nothing to relieve it. They could not engage at once in business or professional pursuits. In the case of many, business habits were broken up. Few had capital to enter mercantile or agricultural enterprises. There was a total lack of the amusements and social diversions which prevail wherever society is in a normal condition.

One evening in May, 1866, a few of these young men met in the office of one of the most prominent members of the Pulaski bar. In the course of the conversation one of the number said: "Boys, let us get up a club or society of some description."

The suggestion was discussed with enthusiasm. Before they separated it was agreed to invite others, whose names were mentioned, to join them and to meet again the next evening at the same place. At the appointed time eight or ten young men had assembled. A temporary organization was effected by the election of a Chairman and a Secretary. There was entire unanimity among the members in regard to the end in view, which was diversion and amusement. The evening was spent in discussing the best means of attaining the object for which they were seeking. Two committees were appointed, one to select a name, the other to prepare a set of rules for the government of the society and a ritual for initiation of new members. The club adjourned to meet the following week to hear and act upon the reports of these committees. Before the arrival of the appointed time for the next meeting one of the wealthiest and most prominent citizens of Pulaski went on a business trip to Columbus, Miss., taking his family with him. Before leaving he invited one of the leading spirits of the new society to take charge of and sleep at his house during his absence. This young man invited his comrades to join him there. And so the place of meeting was changed from the law office to this residence. The owner of it outlined the Ku Klux





THE SPOFFORD HOME

Klan and died ignorant of the fact that his house was the place where its organization was fully effected.

This residence afterwards came into the possession of Judge H. M. Spofford, of Spofford-Kellogg fame. It was his home at the time of his death, and is still owned by his widow. The committee appointed to select a name reported that they had found the task difficult, and had not made a selection. They claimed that they had been trying to discover or invent a name which would be, to some extent, suggestive of the character and objects of the society. They mentioned several which they had been considering. In this number was the name "Kukloi," from the Greek word *kuklos*, meaning a band or circle. At mention of this some one cried out: "Call it Ku Klux." "Klan" at once suggested itself, and was added to complete the alliteration. So instead of adopting a name, as was the first intention, which had a definite meaning, they chose one which to the proposer of it, and to every one else, was absolutely meaningless.

This trivial and apparently accidental incident had a most important bearing on the future of the organization so singularly named. Looking back over the history of the Klan, and at the causes under which it developed, it is difficult to

resist the conclusion that the order would never have grown to the proportions which it afterwards assumed, or wielded the power it did, had it not borne this name or some other equally as meaningless and mysterious—mysterious because meaningless. Had they called themselves the “Jolly Jokers of the Adelphi,” or by some similar appellation, the organization would doubtless have had no more than the mere local and ephemeral existence which those who organized it contemplated for it. Hundreds of societies have originated just as this one did, and after a brief existence have passed away. But in this case there was a weird potency in the very name Ku Klux Klan. Let the reader pronounce it aloud. The sound of it is suggestive of bones rattling together! The potency of the name was not wholly in the impression made by it on the general public. It is a singular fact that the members of the Klan were themselves the first to feel its weird influence. They had adopted a mysterious name. Thereupon the original plan was modified so as to make everything connected with the order harmonize with its name. Amusement was still the end in view. But now the methods by which they proposed to win it were those of secrecy and mystery. So when the report of the committee on rules and ritual came up for consideration, the



recommendations were modified to adapt them to the new idea. The report as finally adopted provided for the following officers: a Grand Cyclops, or President; a Grand Magi, or Vice President; a Grand Turk, or Marshal; a Grand Exchequer, or Treasurer; and two Lictors, the outer and inner guards of the den, as the place of meeting was designated.

The one obligation exacted from members was to maintain profound and absolute secrecy with reference to the order and everything pertaining to it. This obligation prohibited those who assumed it from disclosing that they were Ku Klux, or the name of any other member, and from soliciting any one to become a member. The last requirement was a singular one. It was enacted for two reasons:

First, it was in keeping with the determination to appear as mysterious as possible, and thus play upon the curiosity of the public.

Second, and mainly, it was designed to prevent unpleasantness following initiations. They wished to be able to say to novices: "You are here on your own solicitation, and not by invitation from us." They desired accessions; to have them was indispensable; but they knew human nature well enough to know that if they made the impression that they wished to be exclusive and select, then

applications for membership would be numerous. The result showed that they reasoned correctly.

Each member was required to provide himself with the following outfit: A white mask for the face, with orifices for the eyes and nose; a tall, fantastic cardboard hat, so constructed as to increase the wearer's apparent height; a gown, or robe, of sufficient length to cover the entire person. No particular color or material was prescribed. These were left to the individual's taste and fancy, and each selected what in his judgment would be the most hideous and fantastic, with the aim of inspiring the greatest amount of curiosity in the novice. These robes, of different colors, often of the most flashy patterns of "Dolly Varden" calicoes, added vastly to the grotesque appearance of the assembled Klan. Each member carried also a small whistle, with which, by means of a code of signals agreed upon, they held communications with one another. The only utility of this device was to awaken inquiry. And the object of all this was amusement—"only this, and nothing more."

A few young men debarred for the time by circumstances from entering any active business or professional pursuits, and deprived of the ordinary diversions of social life, were seeking in this way to amuse and employ themselves. The or-

ganization of this Klan was to them both diversion and occupation. But where, it may be asked, did the fun come in? Partly in exciting the curiosity of the public, and then in baffling it; but mainly in the initiation of new members. The ritual used in the initiation was elaborate, but not worthy of reproduction. It is enough to say that it was modeled on and embraced the leading features of the ritual of an order which has long been popular in colleges and universities under various names. In one place it is the "Sons of Confucius," in another the "Guiasticutus," but everywhere the "Ancient and the Honorable" and the "Mirth-Provoking." The initiations were at first conducted in the law office where the suggestion for the formation of the Klan had been made. But it was not a suitable place. The room was small. It was near the business portion of the town, and while in session there they never felt entirely free from apprehensions of interruption. They soon found a place in every respect better adapted to their purposes. On the brow of a ridge that runs along the western outskirts of the town there used to stand a handsome and commodious residence. The front, or main building, was of brick, the "L" of wood. In December, 1865, the brick portion of this house was demolished by a cyclone. The "L" remained standing,

but tenantless. It consisted of three rooms. A stairway led from one of them to a large cellar beneath. No other houses stood near. Around these ruins were the storm-torn, limbless trunks of trees which had once formed a magnificent grove. Now they stood up, grim and gaunt, like specter sentinels. A dreary, desolate, uncanny place it was. But it was in every way most suitable for a den, and the Klan appropriated it. When a meeting was held, one Lictor was stationed near the house, the other fifty yards from it on the road leading into town. These were dressed in the fantastic regalia of the order and bore tremendous spears as the badge of their office.

As before stated, and for the reasons assigned, the Ku Klux did not solicit any one to join them; yet they had applications for membership. While members were not allowed to disclose the fact of their membership, they were permitted to talk with others in regard to anything that was a matter of common report with reference to the order. If they chose, members were allowed to say to outsiders: "I am going to join the Ku Klux." If the persons addressed expressed a desire to do likewise, the Ku Klux would say, if the party was a desirable one: "Well, I think I know how to get in. Meet me at such a place, on such a night, at such an hour, and we will join to-

gether." Other similar subterfuges were resorted to to secure members without direct solicitation. Usually curiosity would predominate over every other consideration, and the candidate would be found waiting at the appointed place. As the Ku Klux and the candidate approached the sentinel Lictor, they were hailed and halted and questioned. Having received the assurance that they desired to become Ku Klux, the Lictor blew the signal for his companion to come and take charge of the novices. The candidate, under the impression that his companion was similarly treated, was blindfolded and led to the den. The preliminaries of the initiation consisted in leading the candidate around the rooms and down into the cellar, now and then placing before him obstructions which added to his discomfort, if not to his mystification. After some rough sport of this description, he was led before the Grand Cyclops, who solemnly addressed to him numerous questions. Some of these questions were grave, and occasionally a faulty answer resulted in the candidate's rejection. For the most part they were absurd to the last degree. If the answers were satisfactory, the obligation to secrecy, already administered, was exacted a second time. Then the Grand Cyclops commanded: "Place him before the royal altar and adorn his head with the regal crown."

The "royal altar" was a large looking-glass. The "regal crown" was a huge hat, bedecked with two enormous donkey ears. In this headgear the candidate was placed before the mirror and directed to repeat the couplet:

"O wad some power the giftie gie us  
To see oursel's as others see us!"

As the last word was falling from his lips, the Grand Turk removed the bandage from his eyes, and before the candidate was his own ludicrous image in the mirror. To increase the discomfiture and chagrin which any man in such a situation would naturally feel, the removal of the bandage was the signal to the Klan for indulgence in the most uproarious and boisterous mirth. The Grand Cyclops relaxed the rigor of his rule, and the decorum hitherto maintained disappeared, and the den rang with shouts and peals of laughter; and worse than all, as he looked about him, he saw that he was surrounded by men dressed in hideous garb and masked, so that he could not recognize one of them.

The character of these initiatory proceedings explains why, from the very first, secrecy was so much insisted on. A single "tale out of school" would have spoiled the fun. For the same reason the Klan, in its early history, was careful in re-

gard to the character of the men admitted. Rash and imprudent men—such as could not be confidently relied upon to respect their obligation to secrecy—were excluded. Nor were those admitted who were addicted to the use of intoxicants. Later on in their history they were not so careful, but in the earlier period of its existence the Klan was composed of men of good habits. In some instances persons not regarded as eligible to membership, or not desirable, were persistent even to annoyance in their efforts to gain admission to the order. Such persistence was occasionally rebuked in a manner more emphatic than tender. One young man had a consuming desire to be a Ku Klux. The sole objection to him was his youth. When he presented himself to the Lictor, the latter received him kindly and led him blindfolded, “over the hill and far away,” to a secluded spot, and left him with the admonition to “wait there till called for.” After hours of weary waiting, the young man removed the bandage from his eyes and sought the shelter of the paternal roof. Another of riper years, but for some reason not acceptable to the order, made repeated efforts to join the Klan. For his special benefit they arranged to have an initiation not provided for in the ritual. A meeting was appointed to be held on the top of a hill that rises by a gentle slope to

a considerable height on the northern limits of Pulaski. The candidate, in the usual way—blindfold excepted—was led into the presence of the Grand Cyclops. This dignitary was standing on a stump. The tall hat, the flowing robe, and the elevated position made him appear not less than ten feet tall. He addressed to the candidate a few unimportant and absurd questions, and then, turning to the Lictors, said: "Blindfold the candidate and proceed." The "procedure" in this case was to place the would-be Ku Klux in a barrel provided for the purpose, and to send him whirling down the hill! To his credit, be it said, he never revealed any of the secrets of the Ku Klux Klan.

These details have an important bearing on the subsequent history of the Ku Klux. They show that the originators of the Klan were not meditating treason or lawlessness in any form. Yet the Klan's later history grew naturally out of the measures and methods which characterized this period of it. Its projectors did not expect it to spread. They thought it would "have its little day and die." It lived; it grew to vast proportions.



## II.

### THE SPREAD OF THE KLAN.

THE devices for attracting attention were eminently successful. During the months of July and August, 1866, the Klan was much talked about by the citizens of Pulaski. Its mysteriousness was the sensation of the hour. Every issue of the local paper contained some notice of the strange order. These notices were copied into other papers, and in this manner the way was prepared for the rapid growth and spread of the Klan which soon followed. Six weeks or less from the date of the organization the sensation in Pulaski had reached its height and was waning. Curiosity in regard to it had abated to such a degree that the Klan would have certainly fallen to pieces but for the following circumstances:

By the time the eligible material in the town had been used up, the young men from the country, whose curiosity had been inflamed by the newspaper notices, began to come in and apply for admission to the Klan. Some of these applications were accepted. In a little while the members from the country asked permission to establish dens at various points in the county. No

provision had been made for such a contingency, but the permission was granted; had it not been, the result in all probability would have been the same.

As the ritual followed by the Pulaski Klan could not be conveniently carried out in the country, various modifications and changes were permitted. But the strictest injunctions were laid on these new lodges, or dens, in regard to secrecy, mystery, and the character of the men admitted. The growth in the rural districts was more rapid than it had been in the town. Applications for permission to establish dens multiplied rapidly.

The news that the Ku Klux were spreading to the country excited the attention of the country people more generally than the existence of the Klan in the town had done. The same cause rekindled the waning interest of the town people. Every issue of the local papers in the "infected regions" bristled with highly mysterious and exciting accounts of the doings of the "fantastic gentry."

During the fall and winter of 1866 the growth of the Klan was rapid. It spread over a wide extent of territory. Sometimes, by a sudden leap, it appeared in localities far distant from any existing den. A stranger from West Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, or Texas, visiting a neigh-

borhood where the order prevailed, would be initiated, and on his departure carry with him permission to establish a den at home. In fact, it was often done without such permission. The connecting link between these dens was very fragile. By a sort of tacit agreement the Pulaski Klan was regarded as the source of power and authority. The Grand Cyclops of this den was virtually the ruler of the order; but as he had no method of communicating with the subjects or subordinates, and no way in which to enforce his mandates, his authority was more fancy than fact. But so far there had appeared no need for compact organization, rigid rules, and close supervision. The leading spirits of the Ku Klux Klan were contemplating nothing more serious than amusement. They enjoyed the baffled curiosity and wild speculations of a mystified public even more than the rude sport afforded by the ludicrous initiations.

Such is the account of the Ku Klux Klan in the first period of its history from June, 1866, to April, 1867; yet all this time it was gradually, in a very natural way, taking on new features not at first remotely contemplated by the originators of the order—features which finally transformed the Ku Klux Klan into a band of regulators. The transformation was effected by the combined

operation of several causes: (1) The impressions made by the order upon the minds of those who united with it, (2) the impressions upon the public by its weird and mysterious methods, (3) the anomalous and peculiar condition of affairs in the South at this time. The mystery with which the Klan veiled itself made a singular impression on the minds of many who united with it.

The prevalent idea was that the Klan contemplated some great and important mission. This idea aided in its rapid growth, and, on the other hand, the rapid extension of the Klan confirmed this idea of its purposes. When admitted to membership this conclusion, in the case of many, was deepened rather than removed by what they saw and heard. There was not a word in the ritual or in the obligation or in any part of the ceremony to favor such a conclusion; but the impression still remained that this mysteriousness and secrecy, the high-sounding titles of the officers, the grotesque dress of the members, and the formidable obligation all meant more than mere sport. This impression was ineradicable, and the attitude of many of the members continued to be that of expecting great developments. Each had his own speculations as to what was to be the character of the serious work which the Klan had to do. But they were satisfied that there was such work. It

was an unhealthy and dangerous state of mind for men to be in; bad results in some cases very naturally followed from it.

The impression made by the Klan on the public was the second cause which contributed to its transformation into a band of regulators. When the meetings first began to be held in the dilapidated house on the hill, passers-by were frequent. Most of them passed the grim, ghostly sentinel on the roadside in silence, but always with a quickened step. Occasionally one would stop and ask: "Who are you?" In awfully sepulchral tones, the invariable answer was: "A spirit from the other world. I was killed at Chickamauga." Such an answer, especially when given to a superstitious negro, was extremely terrifying; and if, in addition, he heard the uproarious noises issuing from the den at the moment of the candidate's investiture with the "regal crown," he had the foundation for a most awe-inspiring story. There came from the country similar stories. The belated laborer, passing after nightfall some lonely and secluded spot, heard horrible noises and saw fearful sights. These stories were repeated with such embellishments as the imagination of the narrator suggested, till the feeling of the negroes and of many of the white people, at mention of the Ku Klux, was one of awe and terror.

In a short time the Lictor of the Pulaski den reported that travel along the road on which he had his post had almost entirely stopped. In the country it was noticed that the nocturnal perambulation of the colored population diminished or entirely ceased wherever the Ku Klux appeared. In many ways there was a noticeable improvement in the habits of a large class who had hitherto been causing great annoyance. In this way the Klan gradually realized that the most powerful devices ever constructed for controlling the ignorant and superstitious were in their hands. Even the most highly cultured were not able wholly to resist the weird and peculiar feeling which pervaded every community where the Ku Klux appeared. Each week some new incident occurred to illustrate the amazing power of the unknown over the minds of men of all classes. Circumstances made it evident that the measures and methods employed for sport might be effectually used to subserve the public welfare—to suppress lawlessness and protect property. When propositions to this effect began to be urged, there were many who hesitated, fearing danger. The majority regarded such fears as groundless. They pointed to the good results which had already been produced. The argument was forcible—almost unanswerable. And the question was de-

cided without formal action. The very force of circumstances had carried the Klan away from its original purpose. So that in the beginning of the summer of 1867 it was virtually, though not yet professedly, a band of regulators, honestly, but in an injudicious and dangerous way, trying to protect property and preserve peace and order.

After all, the most powerful agency in effecting this transformation, the agency which supplied the conditions under which the two causes just mentioned became operative, was the peculiar state of affairs existing in the South at that time. As every one knows, the condition of things was wholly anomalous, but no one can fully appreciate the circumstances by which the people of the South were surrounded except by personal observation and experience; and no one who is not fully acquainted with all the facts in the case is competent to pronounce a just judgment on their behavior. On this account, not only the Ku Klux, but the mass of the Southern people, have been tried, convicted, and condemned at the bar of public opinion, and have been denied the equity of having the sentence modified by mitigating circumstances, which in justice they have a right to plead.

At that time the throes of the great revolution were settling down to quiet. The almost universal

disposition of the better class of the people was to accept the arbitrament which the sword had accorded them. On this point there was practical unanimity. Those who had opportunity and facilities to do so engaged at once in agricultural, professional, or business pursuits. There was but little disposition to take part in politics.

But there were two causes of vexation and exasperation which the people were in no good mood to bear. One of these causes related to that class of men who, like scum, had been thrown to the surface in the great upheaval. It was not simply that they were Union men from conviction. That would have been readily forgiven then, as can be shown by pointing to hundreds of cases. But the majority of the class referred to had played traitor to both sides, and were Union men now only because that was the successful side. And worse than all, they were now engaged in keeping alive discord and strife between the sections as the only means of preventing themselves from sinking back into the obscurity from which they had been upheaved. Their conduct was malicious in the extreme and exceedingly exasperating. These men were a "thorn in the flesh" of the body politic and social, and the effort to expel it set up an inflammation which for a time awakened the gravest apprehensions as to the result.



The second disturbing element was the negroes. Their transition from slavery to citizenship was sudden. They were not only not fitted for the cares of self-control and maintenance so suddenly thrust upon them, but many of them entered their new rôles in life under the delusion that freedom meant license. They regarded themselves as freedmen, not only from bondage to former masters, but from the common and ordinary obligations of citizenship. Many of them looked upon obedience to the laws of the State—which had been framed by their former owners—as in some measure a compromise of the rights with which they had been invested. The administration of civil law was only partially reëstablished. On that account, and for other reasons, there was an amount of disorder and violence prevailing over the country which has never been equaled at any period of its history.

If the officers of the law had had the disposition and ability to arrest all lawbreakers, a jail and courthouse in every civil district would have been required.

The depredations on property by theft and by wanton destruction for the gratification of petty revenge were to the last degree annoying. A large part of these depredations was the work of bad white men, who expected that their lawless deeds

would be credited to the negroes. But perhaps the most potent of all causes which brought about this transformation was the existence in the South of a spurious and perverted form of the Union League.

It would be as unfair to this organization, as it existed at the North, to charge it with the outrages committed under cover of its name as it is to hold the Ku Klux Klan responsible for all the lawlessness and violence with which it is credited.

But it is a part of the history of those times that there was a widespread and desperately active organization called the Union League. It was composed of the disorderly element of the negro population, and was led and controlled by white men of the basest and meanest type just now referred to. They met frequently, went armed to the teeth, and literally "breathed out threatening and slaughter." They not only uttered, but in many instances executed, the most violent threats against the persons, families, and property of men, whose sole crime was that they had been in the Confederate army. It cannot be truthfully denied that the Ku Klux committed excesses and were charged with wrongdoing. But they were never guilty of the disorderly and unprovoked deeds of deviltry which mark the history of the Southern Union League. It was partly—I may say chiefly—to re-

sist this aggressive and belligerent organization that the Ku Klux transformed themselves into a protective organization.

Whatever may be the judgment of history, those who know the facts will ever remain firm in the conviction that the Ku Klux Klan was of immense service at this period of Southern history. Without it in many sections of the South life to decent people would not have been tolerable. It served a good purpose. Wherever the Ku Klux appeared, the effect was salutary. For a while the robberies ceased. The lawless class assumed the habits of good behavior.

The Union League relaxed its desperate severity and became more moderate. Under their fear of the dreaded Ku Klux, the negroes made more progress in a few months in the needed lessons of self-control, industry, and respect for the rights of property and general good behavior than they would have done in as many years but for this or some equally powerful impulse. It was a rough and a dangerous way to teach such lessons, but, under all the circumstances, it seemed the only possible way.

Of course these men were trying a dangerous experiment. Many of them knew it at the time, and did not expect it, on the whole, to turn out more successfully than others of a similar charac-

ter. But there seemed to be no other alternative at the time. Events soon occurred which showed that the fears of those who apprehended danger were not groundless, and it became evident, unless the Klan should be brought under better control than its leaders at this time exercised over it, that while it suppressed some evils it would give rise to others almost, if not fully, as great.

### III.

#### THE TRANSFORMATION.

UNTIL the beginning of the year 1867 the movements of the Klan had, in the main, been characterized by prudence and discretion; but there were some exceptions. In some cases there had been a liberal construction of order and of what was by common consent the law of the Klan. In some the limits which tacitly it had been agreed upon not to pass had been overstepped.

Attempts had been made to correct by positive means evils which menaces had not been sufficient to remove. Rash, imprudent, and bad men had gotten into the order. The danger which the more prudent and thoughtful had apprehended as possible was now a reality. Had it been possible to do so, some of the leaders would have been in favor of disbanding. That could not well be done, because at that time the organization was so loose and imperfect. So to speak, the tie that bound them together was too shadowy to be cut or untied. They had evoked a spirit from "the vasty deep." It would not down at their bidding. And, besides, the Klan was needed. The only course which seemed to promise any satisfactory solution of the

difficulty was this: To reorganize the Klan on a plan corresponding to its size and present purposes; to bind the isolated dens together; to secure unity of purpose and concert of action; to hedge the members up by such limitations and regulations as were best adapted to restrain them within proper limits; to distribute the authority among prudent men at local centers, and exact from them a close supervision of those under their charge.

In this way it was hoped the impending dangers would be effectually guarded against. With these objects in view, the Grand Cyclops of the Pulaski den sent out a request to all the dens of which he had knowledge to appoint delegates to meet in convention at Nashville, Tenn., in the early summer of 1867. At the time appointed this convention was held. Delegates were present from Tennessee, Alabama, and a number of other States. A plan of reorganization, previously prepared, was submitted to this convention and adopted. After the transaction of some further business, the convention adjourned and the delegates returned home without having attracted any attention.

At this convention the territory covered by the Klan was designated as the "Invisible Empire." This was subdivided into "realms" coterminous with the boundaries of States. The "realms" were divided into "dominions" corresponding to Con-

gressional districts, the "dominions" into provinces" coterminous with counties, and the "provinces" into "dens." To each of these departments officers were assigned.

Except in the case of the supreme officer, the duties of each were minutely specified.

These officers were:

The Grand Wizard of the Invisible Empire and his ten Genii. The powers of this officer were almost autocratic.

The Grand Dragon of the Realm and his eight Hydras.

The Grand Titan of the Dominion and his six Furies.

The Grand Cyclops of the Den and his two Night Hawks.

The Grand Monk.

A Grand Scribe.

A Grand Exchequer.

A Grand Turk.

A Grand Sentinel.

The Genii, Hydras, Furies, Goblins, and Night Hawks were staff officers. The gradation and distribution of authority were perfect. But for the source of weakness, the Klan, under this new organization, was one of the most perfectly organized orders that ever existed in the world.

As we shall see presently, it was vulnerable and

failed because of the character of its methods. Secrecy was at first its strength. It afterwards became its greatest weakness. As long as mystery was conjoined with it, it was strength. When masks and disguises ceased to be mysterious, secrecy was weakness.

One of the most important things done by this Nashville convention was to make a positive and emphatic declaration of the principles of the order. It was in the following terms: "We recognize our relations to the United States government, the supremacy of the Constitution, the constitutional laws thereof, and the union of States thereunder."

If these men were plotting treason, it puzzles us to know why they should make such a statement as that in setting forth the principles of the order. The statement above quoted was not intended for general circulation and popular effect. So far as is known, it is now given to the public for the first time. We must regard it, therefore, as accurately describing the political attitude which the Ku Klux proposed and desired to maintain. Every man who became a member of the Klan really took an oath to support the Constitution of the United States.

This Nashville convention also defined and set forth the peculiar objects of the order, as follows:



1. To protect the weak, the innocent, and the defenseless from the indignities, wrongs, and outrages of the lawless, the violent, and the brutal; to relieve the injured and the oppressed; to succor the suffering, and especially the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers.

2. To protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and all laws passed in conformity thereto, and to protect the States and the people thereof from all invasion from any source whatever.

3. To aid and assist in the execution of all constitutional laws, and to protect the people from unlawful seizure, and from trial except by their peers in conformity to the laws of the land.

This last clause was the result of the infamous and barbarous legislation of that day. On June 3, 1865, the Thirty-Fourth General Assembly of Tennessee revived the sedition law and restricted the right of suffrage. A negro militia, ignorant and brutal, were afterwards put over the State, and spread terror throughout its borders. Men felt that they had no security for life, liberty, or property. They were persecuted if they dared to complain. It was no strange thing if they resorted to desperate measures for protection. The emergency was desperate. Taking all the circumstances and aggravations into consideration, one cannot but be surprised that men so persecuted and oppressed remained so moderate and forbearing.

The legislation of the Nashville convention of

Ku Klux bears internal evidence of what we know from other sources to be true. Whilst devising measures for protection to life and property, and for the resistance of lawlessness and oppression, whether from irresponsible parties or from those who professed to be acting legally and under cover of authority, they were anxious also to control the Klan itself and to keep it within what they conceived to be safe limits.

Up to this time the majority had shown a fair appreciation of the responsibilities of their self-imposed task of preserving social order. But under any circumstances the natural tendency of an organization such as this is to violence and crime, much more under such circumstances as those then prevailing.

Excesses had been committed. Whether justly so or not, they were credited to the Klan. And it was foreseen and feared that if such things continued or increased the hostility of State and Federal governments would be kindled against the Klan and active measures taken to suppress it. The hope was entertained that the legislation enacted by the convention and the reorganization would not only enable the Klan to play its rôle as a regulator with greater success, but would keep its members within the prescribed limits, and so guard against the contingencies referred to. They de-

sired, on the one hand, to restrain and control their own members; on the other, to correct evils and promote order in society; and to do the latter solely by utilizing for this purpose the means and methods originally employed for amusement. In each direction the success was but partial, as will be told presently.

By the reorganization no material change was made in the methods of the Klan's operations. Some of the old methods were slightly modified; a few new features were added. The essential features of mystery, secrecy, and grotesqueness were retained, and steps were taken with a view to deepening and intensifying the impressions already made upon the public mind. They attempted to push to the extreme limits of illustration the power of the mysterious over the minds of men.

Henceforth they courted publicity as assiduously as they had formerly seemed to shun it. They appeared at different points at the same time, and always when and where they were the least expected. Devices were multiplied to deceive people in regard to their numbers and everything else, and to play upon the fears of the superstitious.

As it was now the policy of the Klan to appear in public, an order was issued by the Grand Dragon of the Realm of Tennessee to the Grand Giants of the Provinces for a general parade in the capital

town of each province on the night of July 4, 1867. It will be sufficient for this narrative to describe that parade as witnessed by the citizens of Pulaski. Similar scenes were enacted at many other places.

On the morning of July 4, 1867, the citizens of Pulaski found the sidewalks thickly strewn with slips of paper bearing the printed words: "The Ku Klux will parade the streets to-night." This announcement created great excitement. The people supposed that their curiosity, so long baffled, would now be gratified. They were confident that this parade would at least afford them the opportunity to find out who were the Ku Klux.

Soon after nightfall the streets were lined with an expectant and excited throng of people. Many came from the surrounding country. The members of the Klan in the county left their homes in the afternoon and traveled alone or in squads of two or three, with their paraphernalia carefully concealed. If questioned, they answered that they were going to Pulaski to see the Ku Klux parade. After nightfall they assembled at designated points near the four main roads leading into town. Here they donned their robes and disguises and put covers of gaudy materials on their horses. A skyrocket sent up from some point in the town was the signal to mount and move. The different companies met and passed each other on the public

square in perfect silence. The discipline appeared to be admirable. Not a word was spoken. Necessary orders were given by means of the whistles. In single file, in deathlike stillness, with funeral slowness they marched and countermarched throughout the town. While the column was headed north on one street, it was going south on another. By crossing over in opposite directions, the lines were kept up in almost unbroken continuity. The effect was to create the impression of vast numbers. This marching and countermarching was kept up for about two hours, and the Klan departed as noiselessly as they came. The public were more than ever mystified. Curiosity had not been satisfied, as it was expected it would be. The efforts of the most curious and cunning to find out who were Ku Klux failed. One gentleman from the country, a great lover of horses, who claimed to know every horse in the county, was confident that he would be able to identify the riders by the horses. With this purpose in view, he remained in town to witness the parade. But, as we have said, the horses were disguised as well as the riders. Determined not to be baffled, during a halt of the column he lifted the cover of a horse that was near him—the rider offering no objection—and recognized his own steed and saddle upon which he had ridden into town. The town people were on the

alert also to see who of the young men of the town would be with the Ku Klux. All of them, almost without exception, were marked, mingling freely and conspicuously with the spectators. Those of them who were members of the Klan did not go into the parade.

This demonstration had the effect for which it was designed. Perhaps the greatest illusion produced by it was in regard to the numbers participating in it. Reputable citizens—men of cool and accurate judgment—were confident that the number was not less than three thousand. Others, whose imaginations were more easily wrought upon, were quite certain that there were ten thousand. The truth is that the number of Ku Klux in the parade did not exceed four hundred. This delusion in regard to numbers prevailed wherever the Ku Klux appeared. It illustrates how little the testimony of even eyewitnesses is worth in regard to anything which makes a deep impression on him by reason of its mysteriousness. The Klan had a large membership; it exerted a vast, terrifying, and wholesome power; but its influence was never at any time dependent on or proportioned to its membership. It was in the mystery in which the comparatively few enshrouded themselves. General Forrest, before the investigation committee, placed the number of Ku Klux in Tennessee at 40,000,

and in the entire South at 550,000. This was with him only a guessing estimate. Careful investigation leads to the conclusion that he overshot the mark in both cases. It is an error to suppose that the entire male population of the South were Ku Klux, or that even a majority of them were privy to its secrets and in sympathy with its extremest measures. To many of them, perhaps to a majority, the Ku Klux Klan was as vague, impersonal, and mysterious as to the people of the North or of England. They did attribute to it great good, and to this day remember with gratitude the protection it afforded them in the most trying and perilous period of their history, when there was no other earthly source to which to appeal.

One or two illustrations may here be given of the methods resorted to to play upon the superstitious fears of the negroes and others. At the parade in Pulaski, while the procession was passing a corner on which a negro man was standing, a tall horseman in hideous garb turned aside from the line, dismounted, and stretched out his bridle rein toward the negro, as if he desired him to hold his horse. Not daring to refuse, the frightened African extended his hand to grasp the rein. As he did so, the Ku Klux took his own head from his shoulders and offered to place that also in the outstretched hand. The negro stood not upon the or-

der of his going, but departed with a yell of terror. To this day he will tell you: "He done it, suah, boss. I seed him do it." The gown was fastened by a drawstring over the top of the wearer's head. Over this was worn an artificial skull made of a large gourd or of pasteboard. This, with the hat, could be readily removed, and the man would then appear to be headless. Such tricks gave rise to the belief—still prevalent among the negroes—that the Ku Klux could take themselves all to pieces whenever they wanted to.

Some of the Ku Klux carried skeleton hands. These were made of bone or wood, with a handle long enough to be held in the hand, which was concealed by the gown sleeve. The possessor of one of these was invariably of a friendly turn and offered to shake hands with all he met—with what effect may be readily imagined.

A trick of frequent perpetration in the country was for a horseman, spectral and ghostly looking, to stop before the cabin of some negro needing a wholesome impression and call for a bucket of water. If a dipper or gourd was brought, it was declined and the bucket full of water demanded. As if consumed by a raging thirst, the horseman grasped it and pressed it to his lips. He held it there until every drop of the water was poured into a gum or oiled sack concealed beneath the Ku



Klux robe. Then the empty bucket was returned to the amazed negro, with the remark: "That's good. It is the first drink of water I have had since I was killed at Shiloh." Then a few words of counsel as to future behavior made an impression not easily forgotten or likely to be disregarded. Under ordinary circumstances such devices are unjustifiable. But in the peculiar state of things then existing they served a good purpose. It was not only better to deter the negroes from theft and other lawlessness in this way than to put them in the penitentiary, but it was the only way at this time by which they could be controlled. The jails would not contain them. The courts could not or would not try them. The policy of the Klan all the while was to deter men from wrongdoing. It was only in rare, exceptional cases, and these the most aggravated, that it undertook to punish.

## IV.

### THE DECLINE.

FOR a while after the reorganization of the Klan those concerned for its welfare and right conduct congratulated themselves that all was well. Closer organization and stricter official supervision had a restraining influence upon the members. Many things seemed to indicate that the future work of the Klan would be wholly good.

These hopes were rudely shattered. Ere long official supervision grew less rigid or was less regarded. The membership was steadily increasing. Among the new material added were some bad men who could not be—at least were not—controlled.

In the winter and spring of 1867 and 1868 many things were done by members, or professed members, of the Klan which were the subject of universal regret and condemnation. In many ways the grave censure of those who had hitherto been friendly to it was evoked against the Klan, and occasion, long sought for, was given its enemies to petition the intervention of the government to suppress it. The end came rapidly. We must now trace the causes which wrought the decay and downfall of the "Invisible Empire."

In regard to the doings of the Ku Klux, two ex-

treme positions have been advocated. On the one hand, it is asserted that the Ku Klux committed no outrages. On the other, that they were the authors of all the depredations committed by masked and disguised men in the Southern States from 1865 to 1869. The truth lies between these two extremes. Great outrages were committed by bands of disguised men during those years of lawlessness and oppression. And the fact must be admitted that some of these outrages were committed, if not by the order and approbation of the Klan, at least by men who were members of it.

The thoughtful reader will readily understand how this came about. There was a cause which naturally and almost necessarily produced the result. Men of the character of the majority of those who composed the Klan do not disregard their own professed principles and violate self-assumed obligations without cause. We have seen that the Klan was, in the main, composed of the very best men of the country—peaceable, law-loving, and law-abiding men, men of good habits and character, men of property and intelligence.

We have seen that the organization had no political significance; they expressly and in solemn secret compact declared their allegiance to the Constitution and all constitutional laws, and pledged themselves to aid in the administration of all such

laws. To see such men defying law and creating disorder is a sight singular enough to awake inquiry as to the causes which had been at work upon them. The transformation of the Ku Klux Klan from a band of regulators, honestly trying to preserve peace and order, into the body of desperate men who, in 1869, convulsed the country and set at defiance the mandates of both State and Federal government is greater than the transformation which we have already traced.

In both cases there were causes at work adequate to the results produced—causes from which, as remarked before, the results followed naturally and necessarily. These have never been fully and fairly stated. They may be classed under three general heads: (1) Unjust charges. (2) Misapprehension of the nature and objects of the order on the part of those not members of it. (3) Unwise and over-severe legislation.

As has already been pointed out, the order contained within itself, by reason of the methods practiced, sources of weakness. The devices and disguises by which the Klan deceived outsiders enabled all who were so disposed, even its own members, to practice deception on the Klan itself. It placed in the hands of its own members the facility to do deeds of violence for the gratification of personal feeling and have them credited to the Klan.

To the evilly disposed, membership in the Klan was an inducement to wrongdoing. It presented to all men a dangerous temptation, which, in certain contingencies at any time likely to arise, it required a considerable amount of robustness to resist. Many did not withstand it. And deeds of violence were done by men who were Ku Klux, but who, while acting under cover of their connection with the Klan, were not under its orders. But because these men were Ku Klux the Klan had to bear the odium of wrongdoing.

In addition to this, the very class which the Klan proposed to hold in check and awe into good behavior soon became wholly unmanageable. Those who had formerly committed depredations to be laid to the charge of the negroes, after a brief interval of good behavior, assumed the guise of Ku Klux and returned to their old ways, but with less boldness and more caution, showing the salutary impression which the Klan had made upon them. In some cases the negroes played Ku Klux. Outrages were committed by masked men in regions far remote from any Ku Klux organization. The parties engaged took pains to assert that they were Ku Klux, which the members of the Klan never did. This was evidence that these parties were simply aping in Ku Klux disguises. The proof on this point is ample and clear. After

the passage of the anti-Ku Klux statute by the State of Tennessee several instances occurred of parties being arrested in Ku Klux disguises; but in every instance they proved to be either negroes or "radical" Brownlow Republicans. This occurred so often that the statute was allowed by the party in power to become a dead letter before its repeal. It bore too hard on "loyal" men when enforced.

The same thing occurred in Georgia and other States. (See testimony of General Gordon and others before the Investigating Committee.) No single instance occurred of the arrest of a masked man who proved to be, when stripped of his disguises, a Ku Klux.

But it came to pass that all the disorder done in the country was charged upon the Ku Klux, because done under disguises which they had invented and used. The Klan had no way in which to disprove or refute the charges. They felt that it was hard to be charged with violence of which they were innocent. At the same time they felt that it was natural and, under the circumstances, not wholly unjust that this should be the case. They had assumed the office of regulators. It was therefore due society, due themselves, and due the government, which so far had not molested them, that they should at least not afford the lawless

classes facilities for the commission of excesses greater than any they had hitherto indulged in, and, above all, that they should restrain their own members from lawlessness.

The Klan felt all this; and in its efforts to relieve itself of the stigma thus incurred it acted in some cases against the offending parties with a severity well merited, no doubt, but unjustifiable. As is frequently the case, they were carried beyond the limits of prudence and right by a hot zeal for self-vindication against unjust aspersions. They felt that the charge of wrong was unfairly brought against them. To clear themselves of the charge they did worse wrong than that alleged against them.

The Klan from the first shrouded itself in deepest mystery. Out of this fact grew trouble not at first apprehended. They wished people not to understand. They tried to keep them profoundly ignorant. The result was that the Klan and its objects were wholly misunderstood and misinterpreted. Many who joined the Klan and many who did not were certain that it contemplated something far more important than its overt acts gave evidence of. Some were sure that it meant treason and revolution. The negroes and the whites whose consciences made them the subjects of guilty fears were sure it boded no good to them.

When the first impressions of awe and terror which the Klan had inspired to some extent wore off, a feeling of intense hostility toward the Ku Klux Klan followed. This feeling was the more bitter because founded, not on overt acts which the Ku Klux had done, but on vague fears and surmises as to what they intended to do. Those who entertained such fears were in some cases impelled by them to become aggressors. They attacked the Ku Klux before receiving from them any provocation. The negroes formed organizations of a military character and drilled by night, and even appeared in the day armed and threatening. The avowed purpose of these organizations was "to make war upon and exterminate the Ku Klux." On several occasions the Klan was fired into. The effect of such attacks was to provoke counter hostility from the Klan; and so there was irritation and counterirritation, until, in some places, the state of things was little short of open warfare. In some respects it was worse; the parties wholly misunderstood each other. Each party felt that its cause was the just one. Each justified its deed by the provocation.

The Ku Klux, intending wrong, as they believed, to no one, were aggrieved that acts which they had not done should be charged to them and motives which they did not entertain imputed to



them, and were outraged that they should be molested and assaulted. The other party, satisfied that they were acting in self-defense, felt fully justified in assaulting them, and so each goaded the other on from one degree of exasperation to another.

The following extracts from a general order of the Grand Dragon of the Realm of Tennessee will illustrate the operation of both of these causes. It was issued in the fall of the year 1868. It shows what were the principles and objects which the Klan still professed, and it also shows how it was being forced away from them:

GENERAL ORDER No. 1.

*Headquarters Realm No. 1.*

*Dreadful Era, Black Epoch, Dreadful Hour.*

Whereas information of an authentic character has reached these headquarters that the blacks in the counties of Marshall, Maury, Giles, and Lawrence are organized into military companies, with the avowed purpose to make war upon and exterminate the Ku Klux Klan, said blacks are hereby solemnly warned and ordered to desist from further action in such organizations, if they exist.

The G. D. [Grand Dragon] regrets the necessity of such an order. But this Klan shall not be outraged and interfered with by lawless negroes and meaner white men, who do not and never have understood our purposes.

In the first place, this Klan is not an institution

of violence, lawlessness, and cruelty; it is not lawless; it is not aggressive; it is not military; it is not revolutionary. It is essentially, originally, and inherently a protective organization. It proposes to execute law instead of resisting it; and to protect all good men, whether white or black, from the outrages and atrocities of bad men of both colors, who have been for the past three years a terror to society and an injury to us all.

The blacks seem to be impressed with the belief that this Klan is especially their enemy. We are not the enemy of the blacks as long as they behave themselves, make no threats upon us, and do not attack or interfere with us. But if they make war upon us, they abide the awful retribution that will follow.

This Klan, while in its peaceful movements and disturbing no one, has been fired into three times. This will not be endured any longer; and if it occurs again and the parties be discovered, a remorseless vengeance will be wreaked upon them.

We reiterate that we are for peace and law and order. No man, white or black, shall be molested for his political sentiments. This Klan is not a political party; it is not a military party; it is a protective organization, and will never use violence except in resisting violence.

Outrages have been perpetrated by irresponsible parties in the name of this Klan. Should such parties be apprehended, they will be dealt with in a manner to insure us future exemption from such imposition. These impostors have, in some instances, whipped negroes. This is wrong, wrong! It is denounced by this Klan, as it must be by all good and humane men.

The Klan now, as in the past, is prohibited from doing such things. We are striving to protect all good, peaceful, well-disposed and law-abiding men, whether white or black.

The G. D. deems this order due to the public, due to the Klan, and due to those who are misguided and misinformed. We therefore request that all newspapers who are friendly to law and peace and the public welfare will publish the same.

By order of the G. D. Realm No. 1.

By the Grand Scribe.

This order doubtless expresses the principles which the Klan, as a body, was honestly trying to maintain. It also illustrates how they were driven to violate them by the very earnestness and vehemence with which they attempted to maintain them.

The question naturally arises, Why, under the embarrassing circumstances, did not the Klan disband and close its operations? The answer is that the members felt that there was now more reasons than ever for the Klan's existence. They felt that they ought not to abandon their important and needful work because they encountered unforeseen difficulties in accomplishing it. It is an illustration of the fatuity, which sometimes marks the lives of men, that they do not perceive what seems perfectly clear and plain to others. Nothing is more certain than that a part of the evils which the Klan was combating at this period of its history

grew out of their own methods, and might be expected to continue as long as the Klan existed. Men are not always wise. But even in cases where their conduct does not permit of vindication and excuse, justice requires that a fair and truthful statement be made of the temptations and embarrassments which surrounded them. Placing all the circumstances before us fully, who of us is prepared to say that we would have acted with more wisdom and discretion than these men?

Matters grew worse and worse, until it was imperatively necessary that there should be interference on the part of the government. In September, 1868, the Legislature of Tennessee, in obedience to the call of Governor Brownlow, assembled in extra session and passed a most stringent and bloody anti-Ku Klux statute. This was the culmination of a long series of the most infamous legislations which ever disgraced a statute book. It began in 1865, as we have seen, in the passage of the alien and sedition act, and grew worse and worse until the passage of the anti-Ku Klux statute in 1868. Forty years have passed since then, and many into whose hands this book will come have never seen the anti-Ku Klux law. We quote it entire to show the character of the legislation of those times, as well as for the sake of its bearing on the matter in hand:

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Tennessee,* That if any person or persons shall unite with, associate with, promote or encourage any secret organization of persons who shall prowl through the country or towns of this State, by day or by night, disguised or otherwise, for the purpose of disturbing the peace or alarming the peaceable citizens of any portion of this State, on conviction by any tribunal of this State, shall be fined not less than five hundred dollars, imprisoned in the penitentiary not less than five years, and shall be rendered infamous.

SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted,* That it shall be the duty of all the courts in this State, before the impaneling of any grand jury or petit jury in any cause whatever, to inquire of the juror on oath whether he shall be associated in any way obnoxious to the first section of this act; and if such juror shall decline to give a voluntary answer, or shall answer affirmatively, such person shall be disqualified as a juror in any case in any court in this State.

SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted,* That, for the purpose of facilitating the execution of the provisions of this act, it shall be the duty of the prosecuting attorneys of this State or grand jurors, or either of them, to summons or cause to be summoned any person he shall have a well-grounded belief has any knowledge of such organization as described by the first section of this act; and if any person shall fail or refuse to obey such summons, or shall appear and refuse to testify, such persons so summoned shall suffer the penalty imposed by the first section of this act; and if such witness shall avoid the service of said subpoena or summons, the sheriff or other officer shall return

such fact on said process, when the court shall order a copy of said process to be left at the last place of residence of such persons sought to be summoned; and if such person shall fail to appear according to the command of said process, said court shall enter a judgment *nisi* against such person for the sum of five hundred dollars, for which *sci. fa.* shall issue, as in other cases of forfeiture of subpoena.

SEC. 4. *Be it further enacted*, That no prosecutor shall be required on any indictment under the provisions of this act, and all the courts of the State shall give a remedial construction to the same; and that no presentment or indictment shall be quashed or declared insufficient for want of form.

SEC. 5. *Be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of all the courts of this State, at every term, for two years from and after the passage of this act, to call before it all the officers thereof, who shall be sworn and have this act read or explained to them; and the court shall ask said officers if they shall have any knowledge of any person of the State or out of it that shall be guilty of any of the offenses contained in this act; and that, if at any time they shall come in such knowledge or shall have a well-grounded belief that any person or persons shall be guilty of a violation of this act or any of its provisions, they will immediately inform the prosecuting attorney for the State thereof; and if such prosecuting attorney, upon being so informed, shall fail, refuse, or neglect to prosecute such person or persons so informed on, he shall be subject to the same penalties imposed by the first section of this act, and shall be stricken from the roll of attorneys in said court,

SEC. 6. *Be it further enacted*, That if any officer or other person shall inform any other person that he or she is to be summoned as a witness under any of the provisions of this act, or any other statute or law of this State, with the intent and for the purpose of defeating any of the provisions of this act or any criminal law of this State; or if any officer, clerk, sheriff, or constable shall refuse or fail to perform any of the duties imposed by this act, upon conviction, shall suffer the penalties by the first section of this act, and shall be disqualified from holding office in this State for two years.

SEC. 7. *Be it further enacted*, That if any person shall voluntarily inform on any person guilty of any of the provisions of this act, upon conviction, such informant shall be entitled to and receive one-half of the fine imposed; and if any officer, three-fourths.

SEC. 8. *Be it further enacted*, That if any person, guilty of any of the provisions or offenses enumerated in this act, that shall appear before any jury or prosecuting officer of the State, and shall inform him or them of any offense committed by any person or persons against the criminal laws of this State, such person or witness shall not be bound to answer to any charge for the violations of any provisions of any law about which such person or witness shall be examined; and the court shall protect such witness from any prosecution whatever.

SEC. 9. *Be it further enacted*, That where any process shall be issued against the person of any citizen in any county of this State for any violation of the provisions of this act, and such shall be returned not executed, for any cause whatever, by the sheriff or other officer, to the court from which it was issued,

with an affidavit appended thereto, plainly setting forth the reason for the nonexecution of such process, then it shall be the duty of the clerk, without delay, to issue an *alias capias* to the same county, if the home of the defendant shall be in said county, either in part or in whole, when said sheriff or other officer shall give notice to the inhabitants of said county by posting such notice at the courthouse of said county of the existence of said *capias*; and if the inhabitants of such county shall permit such defendant to be or to live in said county, in part or in whole, the inhabitants shall be subject to an assessment of not less than five hundred dollars nor more than five thousand dollars, at the discretion of the court, which said assessment shall be made in the following manner—to wit: When the sheriff or other officer shall return his *alias capias*, showing that said defendant is an inhabitant of said county, in part or in whole, and the citizens thereof have failed or refused to arrest said defendant, which every citizen is hereby authorized to do or perform, said court shall order *sci. fa.* to issue to the proper officer to make known to the chairman, judge, or other presiding officer of the County Court to appear and show cause why final judgment should not have been entered up accordingly, which, if any County Court fails or refuses to do and perform, any judge, in vacation, shall grant a mandamus to compel said County Court to assess and collect said assessment, to be paid into the State treasury for the benefit of the school fund; provided, that said assessment shall not be made of the sheriff or other officer, upon the return of the original or *alias* writs, show cause why the same cannot be exe-



cuted, which may be done by his affidavit and two respectable witnesses known to the court as such.

SEC. 10. *Be it further enacted*, That all the inhabitants in this State shall be authorized to arrest any person defendant, under the provisions of this act, in any county in this State, without process.

SEC. 11. *Be it further enacted*, That if any person or persons shall write, publish, advise, entreat, or persuade, privately or publicly, any class of persons or any individual to resist any of the laws of this State calculated to molest or disturb the good people and peaceable citizens of the State, such persons shall be subject to the penalties of the first section of this act; and if an attorney at law, he shall be stricken from the roll of attorneys and be prevented from practicing in any court in this State.

SEC. 12. *Be it further enacted*, That if any person shall make threats against any elector or person authorized to exercise the elective franchise with the intention of intimidating or preventing such person or persons from attending any election in this State, they shall be subject to the penalties inflicted by the first section of this act.

SEC. 13. *Be it further enacted*, That if any person or persons shall attempt to break up any election in this State, or advise the same to be done, with a view of preventing the lawful or qualified citizens of this State from voting, they shall be subject to the penalties prescribed by the first section of this act; and the attorney of the State, in all convictions under the provisions of this act, shall be entitled to a tax fee of one hundred dollars, to be taxed in the bill of costs and to be paid by the defendant. And the attorney prosecuting for the State shall keep all information given

him a secret, unless it shall be necessary, in the opinion of the court, that the same should be made public.

SEC. 14. *Be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of all the judges in this State to read this act to the grand juries and give it especially in charge to said juries.

SEC. 15. *Be it further enacted*, That the Treasurer of this State shall not be authorized to pay any judge in this State any salary, or to any clerk, sheriff, or attorney any fee or bill of cost that may accrue to such parties under the provisions of this act until such judge or other officer shall have filed with the Comptroller or Treasurer an affidavit plainly setting forth that he has fully complied with the provisions of this act.

SEC. 16. *Be it further enacted*, That if any person or citizen of this State shall voluntarily feed or lodge or entertain or conceal in the woods or elsewhere any offender known to such person to be charged with any criminal offense under this act, such person shall suffer the penalty prescribed by the first section of this act; provided, that this section shall not apply to persons who, under the ancient law, might feed or conceal the party charged.

SEC. 17. *Be it further enacted*, That if any person guilty of any of the offenses enumerated in this act shall have, own, or possess any real estate held by deed or grant or entry or by fee or entail in law or equity, the same shall be bound for costs, fines, or penalties imposed by any of the provisions of this act; and a lien is hereby declared to attach to all estates in law or equity, as above, dating from the day or night of the commission of the offense, which fact may be found by the jury trying the cause, or any

other jury impaneled for that purpose; and if, in the opinion of the court, the defendant has evaded the law, the jury shall find such fact, and the estate of the defendant shall be made liable for the costs of the State, and there shall be no limitation to the recovery of the same.

SEC. 18. *Be it further enacted*, That if any person or persons shall be guilty of a violation of any of the provisions of this act, to the prejudice or injury of any individual, the jury trying the defendant shall, or may, find such fact with the amount of injury sustained, which shall be paid to the injured party or person entitled to the same by the laws of descent of this State, with all costs, and who shall have the same lien on the property of the defendant that is possessed or given to the State by this act.

SEC. 19. *Be it further enacted*, That if any person shall knowingly make or cause to be made any uniform or regalia, in part or in whole, by day or by night, or shall be found in possession of the same, he, she, or they shall be fined, at the discretion of the court, and shall be rendered infamous.

SEC. 20. *Be it further enacted*, That, in addition to the oath prescribed by the Constitution and oath of office, every public officer shall swear that he has never been a member of the organization known as the Ku Klux Klan or other disguised body of men contrary to the laws of the State, and that he has neither directly nor indirectly aided, encouraged, supported, or in any manner countenanced said organization.

SEC. 21. *Be it further enacted*, That the attorneys or prosecuting officers for the State shall be entitled to and receive five per cent on all forfeitures or as-

sessments made by this act on compensations to be paid by the defendant.

SEC. 22. *Be it further enacted*, That the standard of damages for injuries to individuals shall be as follows: For disturbing any of the officers of the State or other person, by entering the house or houses or place of residence of any such individual in the night in a hostile manner or against his will, the sum of ten thousand dollars; and it shall be lawful for the person so assailed to kill the assailant. For killing any individual in the night, twenty thousand dollars; provided such person killed was peaceable at that time. That all other injuries shall be assessed by the court and jury in proportion; and the court trying said causes may grant as many new trials as may, in his opinion, be necessary to attain the end of justice.

SEC. 23. *Be it further enacted*, That all persons present, and not giving immediate information on the offenders, shall be regarded as guilty of a misdemeanor against the law, and shall be punished accordingly.

SEC. 24. *Be it further enacted*, That it shall not be lawful for any persons to publish any proffered or pretended order of said secret, unlawful clans; and any person convicted under any of the provisions of this act shall not claim, hold, or possess any property, real or personal, exempt from execution, fine, penalty, or costs under this act; provided, that nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to prevent or exempt any person heretofore guilty of any of the offenses herein contained from prosecution under the law as it now stands. This act to take effect from and after its passage.

The same legislature passed a bill authorizing the Governor to organize, equip, and call into active service, at his discretion, a volunteer force to be known as the Tennessee State Guards, to be composed of one or more regiments from each Congressional district of the State; provided, always, that said Tennessee State Guards shall be composed of loyal men.

And it was further provided by the "Militia Law" that, upon the representation of "ten Union men or three Justices of the Peace in any county in the State," that the presence of these troops was needed, the Governor might declare martial law in such counties, and send thither troops in such numbers as, in his judgment, were necessary for the preservation of peace and order. And it was provided that the expense of these troops to the State should be collected from the counties where they were quartered.

The reader has now some insight into the character of the legislation directed against the Ku Klux. He will not only note the general severity and harshness of it, but the following features in particular: (1) the anti-Ku Klux statute was *ex post facto*, as expressly declared by Section 24 of it. (2) It presented no way in which a man could relieve himself from liability to it, except by turning informer, and as an inducement to do this a

large bribe was offered. (3) It encouraged strife by making every inhabitant of the State an officer extraordinary with power "to arrest without process" when he had ground to suspect. (4) It must be remembered that in those days in Tennessee "to be loyal" had a very limited meaning. It meant simply to be a subservient tool and supporter of Governor Brownlow. If a man was not that, no matter what his past record or what his political opinion, he was not "loyal." (5) While the law professed to be aimed at the suppression of all lawlessness, it was not so construed and enforced by the party in power. The Union or Loyal League was never molested, though this organization met frequently, and its members appeared by day and by night, armed, threatening, and molesting the life and property of as peaceable and quiet citizens as any in the State. No attempt was ever made to arrest men except in Ku Klux disguises. But, as before remarked, there is no instance on record of a Ku Klux being arrested, tried, and convicted. Invariably the party arrested while depre- dating as Ku Klux turned out to be, when stripped of their disguises, "loyal" men.

In some sections of the State a perfect reign of terror followed this anti-Ku Klux statute. The members of the Klan were now in the attitude of men fighting for life and liberty. Hundreds, per-

haps thousands, of them were not lawbreakers and did not desire to be. There had been no law against association with the Klan; they had conceived and done no wrong during their connection with it. They had had no participation in or knowledge of the excesses in which some of the Klan had indulged or were charged with having indulged in. But now their previous connection with the Klan was made a penal offense; and they had no hope except on terms which, to men of honor and right principle, were more odious than death.

These men were made infamous, made liable to fine and imprisonment, exposed to arrest without process by any malicious negro or mean white man, and even their wives and children were outlawed and exposed to the same indignities; and it is no strange thing if they were driven to the very verge of desperation. It is not denied that they did many things for which the world has been exceedingly slow to accept apology or excuse. But history is challenged to furnish an instance of a people bearing gross wrong and brutal outrage perpetrated in the name of law and loyalty with patience, forbearance, or forgiveness comparable to that exhibited by the people of the Southern States, and especially of Tennessee, during what is called the "Reconstruction Period" and since. There

may be in their conduct some things to regret and some to condemn; but he who gets a full understanding of their surroundings—social, civil, and political—if he is not incapable of noble sentiment, will also find many things to awaken his sympathy and call forth his admiration.



## V.

### DISBANDMENT.

ON February 20, 1869, Governor Brownlow resigned his position as Governor to take the seat in the United States Senate to which he had been elected. The last paper to which he affixed his signature as Governor of Tennessee proclaimed martial law in certain counties and ordered troops to be sent thither. This proclamation was dated February 2, 1869. In a short while it was followed by a proclamation from the "Grand Wizard of the Invisible Empire" to his subjects. This proclamation recited the legislation directed against the Klan, and stated that the order had now, in large measure, accomplished the objects of its existence. At a time when the civil law afforded inadequate protection to life and property, when robbery and lawlessness of every description were unrebuked, when all the better elements of society were in constant dread for the safety of their property, persons, and families the Klan had afforded protection and security to many firesides and in many ways contributed to the public welfare. But greatly to the regret of all good citizens, some members of the Klan had violated positive orders; others, under the name and disguises of the organization,

had assumed to do acts of violence for which the Klan was held responsible. The Grand Wizard had been invested with the power to determine questions of paramount importance to the interests of the order. Therefore, in the exercise of that power, the Grand Wizard declared that the organization heretofore known as the Ku Klux Klan was dissolved and disbanded. Members were directed to burn all regalia and paraphernalia of every description and to desist from any further assemblies or acts as Ku Klux. The members of the Klan were counseled in the future, as heretofore, to assist all good people of the land in maintaining and upholding the civil laws and in putting down lawlessness. This proclamation was directed to all realms, dominions, provinces, and dens in the "Empire." It is reasonably certain that there were portions of the "Empire" never reached. The Klan was widely scattered, and the facilities for communication were exceedingly poor. The Grand Wizard was a citizen of Tennessee. Under the statute just now quoted newspapers were forbidden to publish anything emanating from the Klan; so that there was no way in which this proclamation could be generally disseminated. Where it was promulgated, obedience to it was prompt and implicit. Whether obeyed or not, this proclamation terminated the Klan's organized existence as de-

cisively and completely as General Lee's last general order, on the morning of April 10, 1865, disbanded the Army of Northern Virginia.

When the office of Grand Wizard was created and its duties defined, it was explicitly provided that he should have "the power to determine questions of paramount importance, and his decision shall be final." To continue the organization or to disband it was such a question. He decided in favor of disbanding, and so ordered. Therefore the Ku Klux Klan had no organized existence after March, 1869.

The report of the Congressional Investigating Committee contains some disreputable history which belongs to a later date, and is attributed to the Klan, but not justly so. For several years after March, 1869, the papers reported and commented on "Ku Klux outrages" committed at various points. The authors of these outrages may have acted in the name of the Klan and under its disguises; it may be that in some cases they were men who had been Ku Klux. But it cannot be charged that they were acting by the authority of an order which had formally disbanded. They were acting on their own responsibility.

Thus lived and so died this strange order. Its birth was an accident, its growth was a comedy, its death a tragedy. It owed its existence wholly

to the anomalous condition of social and civil affairs in the South during the years immediately succeeding the unfortunate contest in which so many brave men in blue and gray fell, martyrs to their convictions. There never was, before or since, a period of our history when such an order could have lived. May there never be again!

When the mission of the Ku Klux Klan in reclaiming the South from the carpetbag rule had been finished, the disbanding of its members was attended with weird ceremonies still fresh in the memory of many of its faithful men. Perhaps the most unique and weird of all the ceremonies attended the disbanding of the Nashville Den, led by John W. Morton, ex-Secretary of State, who lived in Davidson County. The last act of the real Klan was a warning to the spurious Klan, organized for lawlessness, by marching through the streets of Nashville.

The original Klan was organized to protect the homes and the liberties of the South. White, the symbol of purity, was the most appropriate color of their uniforms. After their work was done and they had disbanded by order of General Forrest, some reckless firebrands, who had private hatreds to appease, organized bands of night riders, and had the audacity to call themselves the Ku Klux Klan. Some strange sense of the eternal fitness of

things, however, made them discard the white robes of the real Klan and don flaming red, which has always been the badge of bloodshed, of anarchy, and of disorder. No wonder that their evil deeds inspired a temporary reign of terror until they were wiped out of existence! For a time the story of their crimes was attached to the real Ku Klux Klan, but as time passed even the people of the North learned to distinguish between the real and the bogus Klans.

The order for the dissolution of the Klan issued by General Forrest was in every way characteristic of the man. When the whites had redeemed six Southern States from the negro rule, in 1870, the Grand Wizard knew that his mission was accomplished and issued an order at once that the Klan be disbanded. The execution of this order by John W. Morton, the Cyclops of the Nashville Den, also of the Grand Wizard, is typical of what happened throughout the South.

Thirty-five picked men, mounted, armed, and in full Ku Klux regalia for both horses and men, were selected for the ceremony and ordered to boldly parade through the streets of Nashville. The capital was in charge of 3,000 Reconstruction militia and 200 metropolitan police, who had sworn to take every Ku Klux Klansman, dead or alive, who dared show himself abroad. On the

night appointed a squadron of thirty-five white and scarlet Klansmen moved out of the woods and bore down upon the city. The streets were soon crowded with people watching the strange procession of ghostlike figures. On the principal streets police blew their whistles and darted here and there in great excitement, but made no move to stop the daredevil paraders.

On they rode up the hill and passed the Capitol, around which the camp fires of a thousand soldiers burned brightly, and not a hand was lifted against them. They turned south into High Street, now Sixth Avenue. Along the line of march ladies waved their handkerchiefs from windows and men shouted suppressed oaths.

Before the Klansmen reached Broad Street the police began to summon citizens to aid in their arrest. On reaching Broad Street, John Morton, who rode at the head of the squadron, observed a line of police drawn across the street with the evident intention to stop or arrest the riders. Turning to Mart N. Brown, a gallant Klansman, who rode by his side, Morton said: "What shall we do, Mart?"

"Turn into Vine Street," he quickly answered, "and pass around them."

"No," came an order from Morton, "ride straight through without a change of gait."

And they did. The astonished police, dumb-

founded at the boldness of the strange men, opened their lines, and the white horsemen rode slowly through without a word.

In their last march down Broad Street they passed a frame building used as a carpetbag military armory. It was full of negroes. Directly in front of the building Morton halted his line of white figures, drew them up at dress parade, rode up to the door and knocked. The negroes rushed to the doors and windows, and seeing in the bright moonlight the grim figures of the dreaded Klan, they forgot the 200 friendly police and the 3,000 Reconstruction soldiers guarding Nashville. Making a wild and disorderly break for the rear, they went out through every opening without knowledge of any obstruction. Many of them wore window sashes home for collars.

Wheeling again into double column, the Klansmen silently rode away to their old rendezvous. Their mission was at an end. They had overthrown the carpetbaggers' régime and restored home rule. Their last act was a warning.

Outside the city they entered the shadows of the forest. Down its dim aisles, lit by threads of moonlight, the horsemen slowly wound their way to the appointed place. For the last time the chaplain led in prayer. The men disrobed, and, drawing from each horse his white mantle, opened

a grave and silently buried their regalia, sprinkling the folds with the ashes of a copy of their burned ritual. In this weird ceremony ended the most remarkable revolution in history.

We here append the original Prescript and the cypher code used by the Klan in secret correspondence, neither of which has ever been published before, and no copy is known to exist except the originals here reproduced.



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"Damnant quod non intelligunt."

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[1

PRESCRIPT  
OF THE

\* \* \* \* \*

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What may this mean,  
That thou, dead corse, again, in complete steel,  
Revisit'st thus the glimpses of the moon,  
Making night hideous; and we fools of nature,  
So horridly to shake our disposition,  
With thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls?

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An' now auld Cloots, I ken ye're thinkin',  
A certain *Ghoul* is rantin', drinkin',  
Some luckless night will send him linkin',  
To your black pit;  
But, faith! he'll turn a corner jinkin',  
An' cheat you yet.

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 2] Amici humani generis.
 

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## CREED.

We, the \* \* , reverently acknowledge the Majesty and Supremacy of the Divine Being, and recognize the Goodness and Providence of the Same.

## PREAMBLE.

We recognize our relations to the United States Government, and acknowledge the supremacy of its laws.

## APPELLATION.

ARTICLE I. This organization shall be styled and denominated the \* \*

## TITLES.

Art. II. The officers of this \* shall consist of a Grand Wizard of the Empire and his ten Genii, a Grand Dragon of the Realm and his eight Hydras, a Grand Titan of the Dominion and his six Furies, a Grand Giant of the Province and his four Goblins, a Grand Cyclops of the Den and his two Night Hawks, a Grand Magi, a Grand Monk, a Grand Exchequer, a Grand Turk, a Grand Scribe, a Grand Sentinel, and a Grand Ensign.

Sec. 2. The body politics of this \* shall be designated and known as "Ghouls."

## DIVISIONS.

Art. III. This \* shall be divided into five departments, all combined, constituting the Grand \* of the Empire. The second department to be called the Grand \* of the Realm. The third, the Grand \* of the Dominion. The fourth, the Grand \* of the Province. The fifth, the \* of the Den.

## DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

## GRAND WIZARD.

Art. IV. Sec. 1. It shall be the duty of the Grand Wizard, who is the Supreme Officer of the Empire, to communicate with and receive reports from the

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Magna est veritas, et prœvalebit.

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Nec scire fas est omnia.

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[3

Grand Dragons of Realms, as to the condition, strength, efficiency and progress of the \*s within their respective Realms. And he shall communicate from time to time, to all subordinate \*s, through the Grand Dragons, the condition, strength, efficiency, and progress of the \*s throughout his vast Empire; and such other information as he may deem expedient to impart. And it shall further be his duty to keep by his G. Scribe a list of the names (without any caption or explanation whatever) of the Grand Dragons of the different Realms of his Empire, and shall number such Realms with the Arabic numerals, 1, 2, 3, &c., *ad finem*. And he shall instruct his Grand Exchequer as to the appropriation and disbursement which he shall make of the revenue of the \* that comes to his hands. He shall have the sole power to issue copies of this Prescript, through his Subalterns and Deputies, for the organization and establishment of subordinate \*s. And he shall have the further power to appoint his Genii; also, a Grand Scribe and a Grand Exchequer for his Department, and to appoint and ordain Special Deputy Grand Wizards to assist him in the more rapid and effectual dissemination and establishment of the \* throughout his Empire. He is further empowered to appoint and instruct Deputies, to organize and control Realms, Dominions, Provinces, and Dens, until the same shall elect a Grand Dragon, a Grand Titan, a Grand Giant, and a Grand Cyclops, in the manner hereinafter provided. And when a question of paramount importance to the interest or prosperity of the \* arises, not provided for in this Prescript, he shall have power to determine such question, and his decision shall be final, until the same shall be provided for by amendment as hereinafter provided.

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Ne vile fano.

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4]

Ars est celare artem.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of the Grand Dragon who is the Chief Officer of the Realm, to report to the Grand Wizard when required by that officer, the condition, strength, efficiency, and progress of the \* within his Realm, and to transmit through the Grand Titan to the subordinate \*s of his Realm, all information or intelligence conveyed to him by the Grand Wizard for that purpose, and all such other information or instruction as he may think will promote the interests of the \*s. He shall keep by his G. Scribe a list of the names (without any caption) of the Grand Titans of the different Dominions of his Realm, and shall report the same to the Grand Wizard when required; and shall number the Dominions of his Realm with the Arabic numerals, 1, 2, 3, &c., *ad finem*. He shall instruct his Grand Exchequer as to the appropriation and disbursement of the revenue of the \* that comes to his hands. He shall have the power to appoint his Hydras; also, a Grand Scribe and a Grand Exchequer for his Department, and to appoint and ordain Special Deputy Grand Dragons to assist him in the more rapid and effectual dissemination and establishment of the \* throughout his Realm. He is further empowered to appoint and instruct Deputies to organize and control Dominions, Provinces and Dens, until the same shall elect a Grand Titan, a Grand Giant, and Grand Cyclops, in the manner hereinafter provided.

#### GRAND TITAN.

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the Grand Titan who is the Chief Officer of the Dominion, to report to the Grand Dragon when required by that officer, the condition, strength, efficiency, and progress of the \* within his Dominion, and to transmit, through the Grand Giants to the subordinate \*s

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Nusquam tuta fides.

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 Quid faciendum?
 

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[5]

of his Dominion, all information or intelligence conveyed to him by the Grand Dragon for that purpose, and all such other information or instruction as he may think will enhance the interests of the \*. He shall keep, by his G. Scribe, a list of the names (without caption) of the Grand Giants of the different Provinces of his Dominion, and shall report the same to the Grand Dragon when required; and he shall number the Provinces of his Dominion with the Arabic numerals, 1, 2, 3, &c., *ad finem*. And he shall instruct and direct his Grand Exchequer as to the appropriation and disbursement of the revenue of the \* that comes to his hands. He shall have power to appoint his Furies; also to appoint a Grand Scribe and a Grand Exchequer for his department, and appoint and ordain Special Deputy Grand Titans to assist him in the more rapid and effectual dissemination and establishment of the \* throughout his Dominion. He shall have further power to appoint and instruct Deputies to organize and control Provinces and Dens, until the same shall elect a Grand Giant and a Grand Cyclops, in the manner hereinafter provided.

## GRAND GIANT.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of the Grand Giant, who is the Chief Officer of the Province, to supervise and administer general and special instruction in the formation and establishment of \*s within his Province, and to report to the Grand Titan, when required by that officer, the condition, strength, progress and efficiency of the \* throughout his Province, and to transmit, through the Grand Cyclops, to the subordinate \*s of his Province, all information or intelligence conveyed to him by the Grand Titan for that purpose, and such other information and instruction as he may think

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 Fide non armis.
 

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6]

Fiat justia.

will advance the interests of the \*. He shall keep by his G. Scribe a list of the names (without caption) of the Grand Cyclops of the various Dens of his Province, and shall report the same to the Grand Titan when required; and shall number the Dens of his Province with the Arabic numerals, 1, 2, 3, &c., *ad finem*. And shall determine and limit the number of Dens to be organized in his Province. And he shall instruct and direct his Grand Exchequer as to what appropriation and disbursement he shall make of the revenue of the \* that comes to his hands. He shall have power to appoint his Goblins; also, a Grand Scribe and a Grand Exchequer for his department, and to appoint and ordain Special Deputy Grand Giants to assist him in the more rapid and effectual dissemination and establishment of the \* throughout his Province. He shall have the further power to appoint and instruct Deputies to organize and control Dens, until the same shall elect a Grand Cyclops in the manner hereinafter provided. And in all cases, he shall preside at and conduct the Grand Council of Yahoos.

## GRAND CYCLOPS.

Sec. 5. It shall be the duty of the Grand Cyclops to take charge of the \* of his Den after his election, under the direction and with the assistance (when practicable) of the Grand Giant, and in accordance with, and in conformity to the provisions of this Prescript, a copy of which shall in all cases be obtained before the formation of a \* begins. It shall further be his duty to appoint all regular meetings of his \* and to preside at the same—to appoint irregular meetings when he deems it expedient, to preserve order in his Den, and to impose fines for irregularities or disobedience of orders, and to receive and initiate candidates for admission into the \* after the same shall have been pronounced competent and wor-

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Hic manent vestigia morientis liberatis.

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Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent. [7

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thy to become members by the Investigating Committee. He shall make a quarterly report, to the Grand Giant, of the condition, strength and efficiency of the \* of his Den, and shall convey to the Ghouls of his Den, all information or intelligence conveyed to him by the Grand Giant for that purpose, and all such other information or instruction as he may think will conduce to the interests and welfare of the \*. He shall preside at and conduct the Grand Council of Centaurs. He shall have power to appoint his Night Hawks, his Grand Scribe, his Grand Turk, his Grand Sentinel, and his Grand Ensign. And he shall instruct and direct the Grand Exchequer of his Den, as to what appropriation and disbursement he shall make of the revenue of the \* that comes to his hands. And for any small offense he may punish any member by fine, and may reprimand him for the same. And he may admonish and reprimand the \* of his Den for any imprudence, irregularity or transgression, when he is convinced or advised that the interests, welfare and safety of the \* demand it.

GRAND MAGI.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of the Grand Magi, who is the Second Officer, in authority, of the Den, to assist the Grand Cyclops and to obey all the proper orders of that officer. To preside at all meetings in the Den in the absence of the Grand Cyclops; and to exercise during his absence all the powers and authority conferred upon that officer.

GRAND MONK.

Sec. 7. It shall be the duty of the Grand Monk, who is the third officer, in authority, of the Den, to assist and obey all the proper orders of the Grand Cyclops and the Grand Magi. And in the absence of both of these officers, he shall preside at and conduct the meetings in the Den, and shall exercise all

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Dat Deus his quoque finem.

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8] Cessante causa, cessat effectus.

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the powers and authority conferred upon the Grand Cyclops.

GRAND EXCHEQUER.

Sec. 8. It shall be the duty of the Grand Exchequers of the different Departments of the \* to keep a correct account of all the revenue of the \* that shall come to their hands, and shall make no appropriation or disbursement of the same except under the orders and direction of the chief officer of their respective departments. And it shall further be the duty of the Grand Exchequer of Dens to collect the initiation fees, and all fines imposed by the Grand Cyclops.

GRAND TURK.

Sec. 9. It shall be the duty of the Grand Turk, who is the Executive Officer of the Grand Cyclops, to notify the Ghouls of the Den of all information or irregular meetings appointed by the Grand Cyclops, and to obey and execute all the lawful orders of that officer in the control and government of his Den. It shall further be his duty to receive and question at the Out Posts, all candidates for admission into the \*, and shall *there* administer the preliminary obligation required, and then to conduct such candidate or candidates to the Grand Cyclops at his Den, and to assist him in the initiation of the same. And it shall further be his duty to act as the Executive officer of the Grand Council of Centaurs.

GRAND SCRIBE.

Sec. 10. It shall be the duty of the Grand Scribes of the different departments to conduct the correspondence and write the orders of the chiefs of their departments, when required. And it shall further be the duty of the Grand Scribes of the Den to keep a list of the names (without caption) of the Ghouls of the Den—to call the Roll at all regular meetings and to make the quarterly report under the direction of the Grand Cyclops.

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Droit et avant.

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Cave quid dicis, quando, et cui.

[9]

Sec. 11. It shall be the duty of the Grand Sentinel to detail, take charge of, post and instruct the Grand Guard under the direction and orders of the Grand Cyclops, and to relieve and dismiss the same when directed by that officer.

GRAND ENSIGN.

Sec. 12. It shall be the duty of the Grand Ensign to take charge of the Grand Banner of the \*, to preserve it sacredly, and protect it carefully, and to bear it on all occasions of parade or ceremony, and on such other occasions as the Grand Cyclops may direct it to be flung to the night breeze.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

ART. V. Sec. 1. The Grand Cyclops, the Grand Magi, the Grand Monk, and the Grand Exchequer of Dens, shall be elected semi-annually by the Ghouls of Dens. And the first election for these officers may take place as soon as seven Ghouls have been initiated for that purpose.

Sec. 2. The Grand Wizard of the Empire, the Grand Dragons of Realms, the Grand Titans of Dominions, and the Grand Giants of Provinces, shall be elected biennially, and in the following manner, to wit: The Grand Wizard by a majority vote of the Grand Dragons of his Empire, the Grand Dragons by a like vote of the Grand Titans of his Realm; the Grand Titans by a like vote of the Grand Giants of his Dominion, and the Grand Giant by a like vote of the Grand Cyclops of his Province.

The first election for Grand Dragon may take place as soon as three Dominions have been organized in a Realm, but all subsequent elections shall be by a majority vote of the Grand Titans throughout the Realm, and biennially as aforesaid.

The first election for Grand Titan may take place

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Dormitur aliquando jus, moritur nunquam.

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10] Deo adjuvante, non timendum.

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as soon as three Provinces have been organized in a Dominion, but all subsequent elections shall be by a majority vote of all the Grand Giants throughout the Dominion and biennially as aforesaid.

The first election for Grand Giant may take place as soon as three Dens have been organized in a Province, but all subsequent elections shall be by a majority vote of all the Grand Cyclops throughout the Province, and biennially as aforesaid.

The Grand Wizard of the Empire is hereby created, to serve three years from the First Monday in May, 1867, after the expiration of which time, biennial elections shall be held for that office as aforesaid. And the incumbent Grand Wizard shall notify the Grand Dragons, at least six months before said election, at what time and place the same will be held.

#### JUDICIARY.

ART. VI. Sec. 1. The Tribunal of Justice of this \* shall consist of a Grand Council of Yahoos, and a Grand Council of Centaurs.

Sec. 2. The Grand Council of Yahoos, shall be the Tribunal for the trial of all elected officers, and shall be composed of officers of equal rank with the accused, and shall be appointed and presided over by an officer of the next rank above, and sworn by him to administer even-handed justice. The Tribunal for the trial of the Grand Wizard, shall be composed of all the Grand Dragons of the Empire, and shall be presided over and sworn by the senior Grand Dragon. They shall have power to summon the accused, and witnesses for and against him, and if found guilty they shall prescribe the penalty and execute the same. And they shall have power to appoint an Executive officer to attend said Council while in session.

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Spectemur agendo.

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Nemo nos impune lacessit.

[11]

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Sec. 3. The Grand Council of Centaurs shall be the Tribunal for the trial of Ghouls and non-elective officers, and shall be composed of six judges appointed by the Grand Cyclops from the Ghouls of his Den, presided over and sworn by him to give the accused a fair and impartial trial. They shall have power to summon the accused, and witnesses for and against him, and if found guilty they shall prescribe the penalty and execute the same. Said judges shall be selected by the Grand Cyclops with reference to their intelligence, integrity and fair-mindedness, and shall render their verdict without prejudice or partiality.

## REVENUE.

ART. VII. Sec. 1. The revenue of this \* shall be derived as follows: For every copy of this Pre-script issued to the \*s of Dens, Ten Dollars will be required. Two dollars of which shall go into the hands of the Grand Exchequer of the Grand Giant, two into the hands of the Grand Exchequer of the Grand Titan, two into the hands of the Grand Exchequer of the Grand Dragon, and the remaining four into the hands of the Grand Exchequer of the Grand Wizard.

Sec. 2. A further source of revenue to the Empire shall be ten per cent of all the revenue of the Realms, and a tax upon Realms, when the Grand Wizard shall deem it necessary and indispensable to levy the same.

Sec. 3. A further source of revenue to Realms shall be ten per cent of all the revenue of Dominions, and a tax upon Dominions when the Grand Dragon shall deem such tax necessary and indispensable.

Sec. 4. A further source of revenue to Dominions shall be ten per cent of all the revenue of Prov-

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Patria cara, carior libertas.

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12]

Ad unum omnes.

inces, and a tax upon Provinces when the Grand Titan shall deem such tax necessary and indispensable.

Sec. 5. A further source of revenue to Provinces shall be ten per cent, on all the revenue of Dens, and a tax upon the Dens, when the Grand Giant shall deem such tax necessary and indispensable.

Sec. 6. The source of revenue to Dens, shall be the initiation fees, fines, and a *per capita* tax, whenever the Grand Cyclops shall deem such tax indispensable to the interests and purposes of the \*.

Sec. 7. All of the revenue obtained in the manner herein aforesaid, shall be for the exclusive benefit of the \*. And shall be appropriated to the dissemination of the same, and to the creation of a fund to meet any disbursement that it may become necessary to make to accomplish the objects of the \*, and to secure the protection of the same.

## OBLIGATION.

ART. VIII. No one shall become a member of this \* unless he shall take the following oath or obligation:

"I, ——— of my own free will and accord, and in the presence of Almighty God, do solemnly swear or affirm that I will never reveal to any one, not a member of the \* \* by any intimation, sign, symbol, word or act, or in any other manner whatever, any of the secrets, signs, grips, passwords, mysteries or purposes of the \* \* , or that I am a member of the same or that I know any one who is a member, and that I will abide by the Prescript and Edicts of the \* \*. So help me God."

Sec. 2. The preliminary obligation to be administered before the candidate for admission is taken to the Grand Cyclops for examination, shall be as follows:

"I do solemnly swear or affirm that I will never

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Deo duce, ferro comitante.

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Tempore mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis. [13

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reveal anything that I may this day (or night) learn concerning the \* \*. So help me God."

ADMISSION.

ART. IX. Sec. 1. No one shall be presented for admission into this \*, until he shall have been recommended by some friend or intimate, who *is* a member, to the Investigating Committee, which shall be composed of the Grand Cyclops, the Grand Magi, and the Grand Monk, and who shall investigate his antecedents and his past and present standing and connections, and if after such investigation, they pronounce him competent and worthy to become a member, he may be admitted upon taking the obligation required and passing through the ceremonies of initiation. *Provided*, That no one shall be admitted into this \* who shall have not attained the age of eighteen years.

Sec. 2. No one shall become a member of a distant \* when there is a \* established and in operation in his own immediate vicinity. Nor shall any one become a member of any \* after he shall have been rejected by any other \*.

ENSIGN.

ART. X. The Grand Banner of this \* shall be in the form of an isosceles triangle, five feet long and three wide at the staff. The material shall be yellow, with a red scalloped border, about three inches in width. There shall be painted upon it, in black, a Dracovolans, or Flying Dragon,† with the following motto inscribed above the Dragon, "QUOD SEMPER, QUOD UBIQUE, QUOD AB OMNIBUS."‡

AMENDMENTS.

ART. XI. This Prescript or any part or Edicts thereof, shall never be changed except by a two-

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†See Webster's Unabridged Pictorial.

‡"What always, what everywhere, what by all is held to be true."

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O tempora! O mores!

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thirds vote of the Grand Dragons of the Realms, in Convention assembled, and at which Convention the Grand Wizard shall preside and be entitled to a vote. And upon the application of a majority of the Grand Dragons, for that purpose, the Grand Wizard shall appoint the time and place for said Convention; which, when assembled, shall proceed to make such modifications and amendment as it may think will advance the interest, enlarge the utility, and more thoroughly effectuate the purposes of the \*.

## INTERDICTION.

ART. XII. The origin, designs, mysteries, and ritual of this \* shall never be written, but the same shall be communicated orally.

## REGISTER.

- |      |                 |                  |
|------|-----------------|------------------|
| I.   | 1st—Dismal.     | 7th—Dreadful.    |
|      | 2nd—Dark.       | 8th—Terrible.    |
|      | 3rd—Furious.    | 9th—Horrible.    |
|      | 4th—Portentous. | 10th—Melancholy. |
|      | 5th—Wonderful.  | 11th—Mournful.   |
|      | 6th—Alarming.   | 12th—Dying.      |
| II.  | I—White.        | IV—Black.        |
|      | II—Green.       | V—Yellow.        |
|      | III—Blue.       | VI—Crimson.      |
|      |                 | VII—Purple.      |
| III. | 1—Fearful.      | 7—Doleful.       |
|      | 2—Startling.    | 8—Sorrowful.     |
|      | 3—Awful.        | 9—Hideous.       |
|      | 4—Woeful.       | 10—Frightful.    |
|      | 5—Horrid.       | 11—Appalling.    |
|      | 6—Bloody.       | 12—Last.         |

## EDICTS.

I. The Initiation Fee of this \* shall be one dollar, to be paid when the candidate is initiated and received into the \*.

II. No member shall be allowed to take any intoxicating spirits to any meeting of the \*. Nor shall any member be allowed to attend a meeting when intoxicated; and for every appearance at a meeting in such a condition, he shall be fined the

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Astra Castra, numen lumen.

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[15]

sum of not less than one nor more than five dollars, to go into the revenue of the \*.

III. Any member may be expelled from the \* by a majority vote of the officers and Ghouls of the Den to which he belongs, and if after such expulsion such member shall assume any of the duties, regalia or insignia of the \* or in any way claim to be a member of the same, he shall be severely punished. His obligation of secrecy shall be as binding upon him after expulsion as before, and for any revelation made by him thereafter, he shall be held accountable in the same manner as if he were then a member.

IV. Every Grand Cyclops shall read or cause to be read this Prescript and these Edicts to the \* of his Den, at least once in every three months—and shall read them to each new member when he is initiated, or present the same to him for personal perusal.

V. Each Den may provide itself with the Grand Banner of the \*.

VI. The \*s of Dens may make such additional Edicts for their control and government as they shall deem requisite and necessary. *Provided*, No Edict shall be made to conflict with any of the provisions or Edicts of this Prescript.

VII. The strictest and most rigid secrecy, concerning any and everything that relates to the \* shall at all times be maintained.

VIII. Any member who shall reveal or betray the secrets or purposes of this \* shall suffer the extreme penalty of the law.

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Hush, thou art not to utter what  
I am. Bethink thee; it was our covenant.  
I said that I would see thee once again.

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Ne quid detrimenti; Respublica capiat.

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16]Amici usque ad aras.

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## L'ENVOI.

To the lovers of Law and Order, Peace and Justice, we send greeting; and to the shades of the venerated Dead, we affectionately dedicate the \* \*.

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Nos ducit amor libertatis.

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B	C	C
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D	u	u
E	V	V
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M	2	2

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CYPHER CODE USED BY THE KLAN IN SECRET CORRESPONDENCE.

## SAM DAVIS: HIS CAPTURE, DEATH, AND MONUMENT AT PULASKI.

BY MRS. W. B. ROMINE.

Pulaski's fame, so fair and white,  
Was blistered with a withering blight;  
For the darkest deed of the four years' strife  
Was the taking here of a fair, young life.

'Twas a deed which the ages shall not erase,  
'Twas a deed which time cannot efface;  
For 'twas from her own sacred sod  
Sam Davis's soul went home to God.

I WAS standing a few days since on the now sacred hillside which overlooks Pulaski and which was once the selected place for a sad and awful scene. I have been told that on that day in late November the skies were gray and overcast, verging on tears which later fell in copious showers of softest sympathy on the new-made grave of that brave boy-martyr, Sam Davis, who had so nobly met his fate a few hours earlier.

All that day, after the heart-rending execution, sere brown leaves wet with a dreary rain were driven in swirling hosts across the distant hills and their deep, dark valleys by a harsh and nipping

wind which heralded the approach of winter and chanted in tones now loud, now low, the requiem of the dying year and the dead hero.

Forty-three years later, as I stood there, the wind was again cold as it blew the bright-hued autumn leaves, one by one, from the red and gold maples which now stand as stately sentinels on the same hillside; but a glorious sun bathed the earth and sky with splendor, and it seemed that all the beauties of nature conspired together to flatter and adorn the little town which nestled amid the scarlet and bronze of the autumn groves.

Supurb clouds, like snow-white barges with sails uplifted, swept across the brilliant blue sea of ether above it, and the beech woods which girdle it on every side were painted in broad bands of richest colors.

In the valleys the eye traveled through a deep magnificence of shade to the sunlight beyond, which was falling like our Father's benediction upon the gleaming marble of a shaft erected in memory of that same young martyr whose soul passed to the home of the brave and the blest on that dreary November morning.

As I stood there so filled with exalted memories of his loyalty and the lovely characteristics which he evinced in every way during his imprisonment and at his trial by court-martial and in his match-

less death, I almost felt that the spot whereon my feet rested was holy ground.

I fell to thinking of that warm, bright afternoon of the long ago when he was making his way out of the little town with those prized documents concealed in the sole of his boot, and of how he was overtaken and captured by the Federal officers on the Lamb's Ferry Road (which I could see winding its white length from the southwest limits of the town), and a graphic account of which has been furnished by Joshua Brown, a fellow scout, and which I will give as a true and accurate description.

As I stood on the same spot where he stood and looked across to the hill opposite me, his monument, which has been erected by the untiring labor and devotion of the Daughters of the Confederacy of Pulaski and Giles County, gleamed upon my sight. In its white purity it seemed emblematic of his life and death, as it was silhouetted sharp and vehement, full-bodied and rich, against the wide horizon, infinitely clear from its background of blazing intensity of light from the setting sun, which was slowly and regally sinking to rest on his couch of gold in the purple west.

This monument and many others which are being built all over this fair Southland of ours are but fit testimonials from her loving women. And

the entire American nation is fast awakening to this same desire to show in this way their appreciation of the valor and bravery of the men who wore the gray—the truest types of manhood and honor which walk the earth or sleep beneath her sod to-day. The sons and daughters of this generation are fast coming to a fuller realization of these facts, and are more and more filled with a determination to give just recognition from man to man for deeds of bravery done and hard-fought battles, whether lost or won.

“And above the sad world’s sobbing,  
And the strife of clan with clan,  
I can hear the mighty throbbing  
Of the heart of God in man.  
And a voice sounds through the chiming  
Of the bells, and seems to say:  
‘We are climbing, we are climbing,  
As we circle on our way.’”

## SAM DAVIS: HIS CAPTURE, TRIAL, AND EXECUTION.

BY JOSHUA BROWN.

IN the fall of 1863 we were ordered into Middle Tennessee to report to Dr. Shaw, known as Captain Coleman. Dr. Shaw was the chief of the secret service of General Bragg's army, and created and commanded what was known as the Coleman Scouts. He ordered us to different duties in this part of the State. We were instructed in those duties, and were to get all the information we could as to the numbers and positions of the Federal army. The country became so overrun with the Federal cavalry, the Sixteenth Corps of General Dodge's command, that it was dangerous for us to travel except at night, and he ordered us to separate and make our way south. The papers and information that had been collected from his many agents in the line, and from Nashville and other points, were collected into different packages and were intrusted to Sam Davis, who was considered the best scout, as he knew the country better and was more reliable than any other scout. To him was intrusted this responsibility.



SAM DAVIS MONUMENT





The night we were ordered to separate and go south we crossed the Tennessee River, and, if we succeeded, were to report to the Confederate authorities. Just as we started out that night we met a deserter, who led us into a trap, and we were captured by the Seventh Kansas Cavalry, known as Jayhawkers, on Agnew Creek, in Giles County, Tenn. Sam Davis was captured a little later farther out on or near the Lamb's Ferry Road. We were all brought in to Pulaski, and were put in the old jail, on the corner of the Square, which has since been torn down. We were all searched and our saddle seats cut to pieces. The papers were found in Sam Davis's boots, and the maps of the fortifications at Nashville were found in his saddle seat. The next day he was taken to the headquarters of General Dodge and questioned in regard to it, but he refused to say anything. They then came and searched me again and took me to headquarters, but could find nothing on me. However, charges were preferred against me; but there was no proof, and I was later on sent to Rock Island Prison. Sam Davis was tried by a court-martial and condemned to be hanged the following Friday. We were captured, my recollection is, on the Friday before. The day that he was condemned was Thursday. We were ordered to get ready to leave the jail. Just before we left we were cook-

ing our breakfasts, and Sam Davis was brought handcuffed from his cell into our room to get his breakfast. I was cooking some meat on a stick as he came in, and I gave the meat with the hardtack to him, and had some conversation with him. I expressed sympathy and the hope that there was some chance for him, and he was taken back to his cell after bidding us good-by. We were ordered over to the courthouse under guard, where some other prisoners were. All the other prisoners confined in the jail were taken out and carried over across the street to the old courthouse. Sam Davis was alone in the jail, and they doubled their guard around him. The next morning early a regiment of infantry, with their drums beating a funeral march, and accompanied by an army wagon with a coffin, marched by. In a few minutes he was taken out; he got up in the wagon and sat down on his coffin. Then he looked around the Square, saw us in the courthouse looking through a window, turned as he went by, stood up in his wagon, and saluted us a farewell, one of the most dramatic things I have ever seen in my life. There were tears in the eyes of all of us who witnessed that scene. Captain Shaw, standing there by me, said: "If Sam Davis tells, they will hang us all; but Sam will never tell." He then remarked: "I am getting old and have not many years, and I

would gladly give my life to save him, but it is impossible for me to do it." In about an hour afterwards the provost marshal who hanged Sam Davis returned to the courthouse, and with tears in his eyes informed us that Sam Davis was no more. Then he spoke of him, declaring that he would almost rather have died than to have executed such a noble boy. Then he told us what Sam Davis said—that he would have lost a thousand lives before he would betray his friends or his country. He then told us of how Sam Davis was offered his life and great rewards and an escort south of the Tennessee River to tell, and how he refused. That same afternoon we were all ordered to get ready to be sent to prison, and some army wagons were brought up. We were put into these wagons, and were taken out eight or ten miles toward Columbia. Several of us made an attempt to escape that night, but did not succeed. The next day we were taken to Columbia, and were put in the old jail there for two days. Then we were ordered to prepare to march to Franklin, the terminus of the railroad at that time, and early the next morning we were ordered out. Our escort was a German regiment, the members of which could not speak English, and they were very cruel to us and threatened to bayonet us for not walking faster.

Captain Shaw (known as Dr. Shaw then) was very feeble, was distressed over Sam Davis's death, and was unable to walk very fast. He had his saddlebags, which I carried for him. His physical condition was very pitiful. Many writers on Sam Davis have condemned Captain Shaw for not telling that he was the one who gave Sam Davis the papers, thinking that it would have saved Sam Davis's life. Captain Shaw would gladly have done that if it had been in his power, for I heard him say so; but such a thing was impossible under the law, and he would simply have thrown away his own life and endangered the lives of all of us connected with him. When we arrived in Nashville, we were taken to the penitentiary, and in a few days we were sent, most of us, to Rock Island Prison. I remained there over a year, and escaped just before the end of the war by jumping from a train at night near Chicago, and in a few days made my way into Canada, crossing at Detroit, there joining some escaped Confederate prisoners. In a few weeks General Lee surrendered. I did not go home until the following July, and was taken to the old Zollicoffer residence in Nashville, which was then the office of the provost marshal of the Federal army, where all Confederate soldiers had to report to get their parole. I then went to my old home, at Clarksville, and in a few

months went into business at Nashville for a few years. Then I went to New York, where I have lived more or less ever since. I have always had a great desire to return to Pulaski and see the town and renew my friendship with the people who were so kind and sympathetic toward us in our great trouble. In 1912 I determined to go, and was anxious to see the beautiful monument erected by the people of Giles County to the memory of Sam Davis, one of the greatest patriots known to history, who gave up his life for duty and principle, and whose deed should be known to the coming generations as an example for all boys. On June 17, 1912, I arrived in Pulaski for the first time in over forty years, and I cannot express to you the feeling that came over me as I viewed the scene of the long-past tragedy and recalled to mind the memory of those days that tried the souls of men who were an example to the coming generations. When I stood in front of that beautiful statue of Sam Davis and looked upon it with awe and reverence, I was requested by some of the old citizens to have my picture taken by the side of the monument, being one of the few of the men living that were with Sam Davis and were tried for the same offense.

I was deeply touched at the kindness and consideration which the people of Pulaski have shown

me, and I will always hold the memory of them dear; and it will be a source of pleasure to know that I was so kindly remembered by old friends and the people of Giles County.













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